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7 August 1980

# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1804**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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7 August 1980

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WORKER MILITIA TRAINING TO BE INTENSIFIED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 24 No 5, May 80 p 5

[Article by Lt Col Guenter Lippold: "Convincing, Lively, Related to the Situation--On Political-Ideological Work During Tactical Exercises"]

[Text] During the 1980 training year, tactical exercises of worker militia units are the culmination and an important milestone for political and combat training. They are the final event of the 1977/1980 training period.

It has already been established that this period was marked by the fact that better quality was attained in socialist competition and that available training time was used with increasing effectiveness for the purpose of enhancing each unit's combat effectiveness. This came about because the high-echelon party organizations, the BDVP directors and in fact everyone having responsibilities relevant to the militia units exerted stronger influence for providing each unit with optimum conditions for fulfilling its mission. This enabled many of the units essentially to overcome initial unevenness in performance and to reach uniformly high standards in all training areas on a broad basis.

Concurrently, there was further improvement in the leadership quality of the commanders and their staffs. The higher level of the commanders' extracurricular qualification was no doubt an important contribution to this. Further, it is a fact that there was increased effectiveness in the combat strength of the party groups within the platoons and political activity in general. All this will doubtless account for positive effects during the tactical exercises and will be proof of the workers' militia's increased combat effectiveness.

Doing Justice to Increased Requirements

Especially under present conditions of increasing complexity and worsening of the international class struggle situation, of enormous efforts to preserve world peace and of having to counter aggressive imperialist plans (conditions which our party leadership has diagnosed openly and without

illusions in its most recent resolutions and documents), there is an absolute necessity for the most careful preservation of the combat capability and perennial combat readiness of our workers' militia.

For this particular reason we must clearly realize that the tactical exercises will make much greater physical and psychological demands on the militia men, noncoms and commanders than has been the case in the past. The reason for this lies in the fact that the exercises must simulate actual combat as nearly as possible; and that they must feature such elements as surprise, sudden changes in the situation or fluid situations, quick maneuvers, rapid changes from one tactic to another, the constant threat of an unexpected encounter with the enemy, forcible displacement of invading forces, etc. The organization and direction of political work, both in the preparatory and the execution phases as well as in the evaluation of the tactical exercises, must come up to the requirements for these qualitative characteristics. The appropriate party directorates, as well as our peoples' police officers share in the responsibility for ensuring this.

Experience teaches that political work in conjunction with such exercises is at its most effective if it has been planned long in advance. That is why in fact it was begun on the very first day of training, the "Day of Combat Readiness." Many units recognized this fact. The entire political task is of course based upon the tasks defined by the resolutions of the leading party organizations, the orders of the responsible leaders, directors and commanders as well as those of the regulations and plans of the appropriate political unit. This includes strict application of the conclusions and lessons learned from the evaluation of the 1979 combat training period and from past years' exercises. This in no way is to be considered "dwelling upon the past." On the contrary, the objective is to enhance the critique with new insights gained into political work considering the new, augmented requirements for the evolution of our socialist society as well as the international political situation of the 1980's.

#### The Objective of Political Work

It must of course consist of guaranteeing the overall success of the exercises. To attain this goal, the standards of political activity must be devoted throughout toward requiring deliberate political and military action; resourceful and responsible activity; high productivity; and exemplary deportment on the part of every member of the militia. At the same time we must bear in mind that tactical exercises are not solely conducted for purposes of evaluation, but that they also serve to continue the process of training militia members in their political and military performance. A continuous requirement exists therefore, subject to the given exercise situation and the current daily mission, to continue reinforcing the militia members' ideological position; to enhance further their moral and fighting qualities; further to develop their capability

for the proper interpretation of military-political correlation, and further reinforce their discipline and socialist relationships. In political work, in exercises and in action, unconditional compliance must be accorded to the instructions given by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, during the 11th Session of the Central Committee and in his address to the first secretaries of the Kreis Directorates. He stated that ideological activity is the core, the active, persuasive dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party's program, strategy and tactics; that our activism requires more ideological depth and our propaganda more applicability to day-to-day life.

#### Political Work Tasks

During the progress of tactical exercises, political work tasks will be as varied, differentiated and dynamic as the exercises themselves. But they will always be based upon the commander's decision as well as on the tasks given by the appropriate leading party organizations and the specific party unit. Every commander and political worker must be primarily concerned with bringing about strict military guidance, active involvement of platoon party groups and agitators and exemplary effectiveness of all political workers through ensuring the party's dominant influence upon all phases of the exercise by exemplary deportment on the part of the communists. Among the many types and methods of political work, the most effective one under exercise conditions has proven to be the one-on-one discussion or possibly an advisory session with the smallest possible number of participants.

In conjunction with becoming familiar with the great challenges posed by the exercise, persuasion through political discussion with militia members serves to bring about a more thorough realization of the connection between the party's military policy and the specific exercise tasks. Other results are a proper appreciation of the individual's and the collective's responsibility, function and position; a substantive feeling for the value and necessity for resourceful initiative during the "combat action;" gaining a deeper impression of one's personal interpretation of the demands and inviolable laws of modern warfare; and finally, an improvement in situation-related thinking and acting. In addition, this will serve to bolster the militia members' knowledge of the enemy's undiminished aggressiveness, of his brutal and cunning combat techniques, his morale condition, his tactics, methods and armament and combat capabilities--but also of his weaknesses and limitations.

Convincing, lively, and situation-related political and ideological work will thus contribute decisively toward the attainment of ambitious objectives and will ensure the success of the tactical exercises.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHIEF JUSTICE ASSESSES EFFECTS OF LABOR CODE ON LITIGATION

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 65, 28 Apr 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Wants To Reduce Number of Labor Lawsuits." A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary. For a description of the functions of the arbitration commissions (Konfliktkommissionen) referred to below see JPRS 70388, 28 Dec 77, No 1489 of this series, pp 39-40]

[Text] Heinrich Toeplitz, president of the GDR Supreme Court, has called on arbitration commissions in the enterprises and on the various lower courts more resolutely to prevent labor litigation. Though the total of suits (some 53,000 annually) is not particularly great, the efforts of arbitration commissions and courts must be bent on achieving a positive change by removing the causes of such conflicts. That is quite realistic, he said, because court statistics show that more than 80 percent of labor lawsuits are due to ignorance of the law, defective interpretation of the law and nonobservance of the law by superiors as well as workers. The labor code must be handled better. He said that, for example, managers efforts to prevent damage and protect socialist property were not adequate (NEUE JUSTIZ No 4/80).

GDR Chief Justice's Discussion

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 34 No 4, Apr 80 pp 153-155

[Article by Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, president, GDR Supreme Court: "Experiences of the Courts in the Application of the Labor Code." A translation of the same author's article cited in footnote 2 below is published under the heading, "Role of Courts Regarding Labor Code Discussed," in JPRS 70616, 9 Feb 78, No 1502 of this series, pp 50-56, followed by a West German analysis on pp 57-92. For translations of additional related information see items indicated in the following JPRS issues of this series: Evaluations of Labor Code by important GDR legal and political journals, 74571, 14 Nov 79, No 1735, pp 20-27; 69438, 18 Jul 77, pp 31-36; 68966, 20 Apr 77, No 1380, pp 20-23; "Features of New Labor Code Draft Discussed," 68820, 23 Mar 77;

and a West German commentary on the GDR Labor Code, 69583, 10 Aug 77, pp 22-23. Regarding the Ninth Congress of the GDR's Free German Labor Union Federation (FDGB), referred to below, see translations of West German commentaries in the following JPRS issues of this series: 69458, 20 Jul 77, pp 20-23; 69350, 1 Jul 77, pp 52-55; and 69315, 27 Jun 77, pp 30-32.]

[Text] Nearly 3 years ago the Ninth FDGB Congress discussed the draft labor code. The congress decided to hand over this draft to the People's Chamber for discussion and decision, thus exercising the constitutional right of legislative initiative assigned the labor unions (article 45).<sup>1</sup> In the years gone by since, cooperation between courts and labor unions has advanced most successfully. This increasingly better cooperation justifies the assessment that collaboration has managed to settle many issues concerning the development of socialist legality and the assurance of the rights of the working people. The new AGB [labor code] was always the focus of this cooperation.

As early as 1977 the Supreme Court Plenum, appraising the Ninth FDG Congress, occupied with the duties of the courts with respect to the introduction of the AGB,<sup>2</sup> in March 1979 generalized the first court experiences from work with the AGB and again dealt with these concepts at its conference in September 1979, especially with reference to the further development of cooperation with the labor unions.

Lately the FDGB federal executive board presidium, continuing this joint work, discussed an informational report given by the president of the Supreme Court with respect to court experiences in the application of the AGB and the cooperation of labor unions in labor litigation.<sup>4</sup>

The discussion took place in the course of the elections to the new arbitration commissions in the enterprises and the last stage of the labor union elections in 1979/1980. Consequently it was possible to appraise the experiences gained in the course of the labor union and arbitration commission elections in the enterprises, the delegate conferences of the labor unions and the labor union law conferences, and to take them into account for our future work.

#### Successful Application of the AGB

The informational report clearly shows that the introduction of the AGB featured many different activities to strengthen socialist legality, order, discipline and safety in our enterprises. The working people consider the code a regulation strengthening their status in the work process as members of the class exercising power. Many managers and senior staff members have acquired a sound knowledge of the new labor code and increasingly better understand how to organize and decide, in strict conformity with the code, all matters touching upon conditions affected by the labor code. The members of arbitration commissions and lay judges do an enormous amount of legal propagandist and educational work in the enterprises. This does much

to prevent labor litigation and violations of the labor code. The guidance of court activities always reflects the basic concept of using the labor code and the verdicts resulting therefrom to make an effective contribution to the realization of the resolutions adopted by the Ninth SED Congress and the Ninth FDGB Congress. Court experiences permit the following assessment of the work with the AGB:

- Work with the AGB has yielded the greatest advances hitherto recorded in the development of socialist legal consciousness among the working people. That results mainly from the fact that the work collectives had thoroughly discussed the political concerns of the AGB. Here also we have confirmation of the claim that the work collectives are the main field of political work with the masses by the labor unions.
- The working people are appreciating the AGB as their law, as a challenge for better utilizing the many opportunities for their participation in the management and planning of the enterprises provided by the AGB. They continue to focus on the improvement of the efficiency and quality of labor. That is reflected in the outstanding competition results which were achieved in honor of the GDR's 30th anniversary and expressed in the new competition initiatives in preparation of the Tenth Congress of the party of the working class.
- The perfection of socialist democracy in the enterprises as an essential element in the strengthening of our socialist state has advanced considerably. More and more extensively do the labor union leadership organizations exercise the rights arising from the AGB. Their explanations of the code inspire every worker consciously to handle the rights and duties arising for him personally for the AGB.
- The AGB has become effective as the reflection of the policy of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. The socialist state spends many millions annually to safeguard the planned improvement in the working and living conditions of the working people provided for in the AGB.
- The great interest in the AGB and legal points of the labor law in general is exemplified in the fact that, in 1978 and 1979, state courts provided a total of 175,070 answers to questions on the labor law. More than 2.3 million copies of the AGB's text have been sold.
- In the course of the AGB's introduction we did not note any real rise in labor litigation which had to be decided by arbitration commissions and state courts, although many substantial changes in labor law regulations occurred and confronted enterprises, labor union leadership organizations and working people with new challenges.

## Further To Improve the Legal Knowledge of Managers

The majority of managers and senior staffs in the enterprises have made intensive efforts with respect to the introduction of the AGB and its appropriate application. A contributing factor here was represented by the comprehensive training courses for managers in the initial stage of the AGB's introduction, paid for in part by the labor unions and the organs of the administration of justice. Admittedly, managers and senior cadres still require guidance in their work with the AGB. It will therefore be necessary to continue sensible activities with respect to the further education of managers in labor law, so that the AGB's potential for the fulfillment of enterprise assignments may be better exploited. In the course of conversation some managers expressed the opinion that their rights under the AGB did not allow them to accomplish their tasks. This complaint is due not least to their insufficient knowledge of the AGB, especially the second and fourth chapters. Whenever the courts have noted defects in the observance of labor union rights by enterprise managers, they have taken corrective actions and helped overcome some persisting lack of familiarity with labor union rights.

The courts experiences justify the assertion that the AGB--even from the standpoint of the greater challenges arising from the Eleventh SED Central Committee Plenum--provide all the tools required by a manager to accomplish the economic tasks of the sector entrusted to him and, at the same time, advance the process of educating all working people to be socialist personalities. The AGB will also help in meeting the greater demand for order, discipline and safety. Always in the foreground is the need patiently and persistently to work with the people. Bureaucratic and heartless decisions occasionally turning up in labor litigation contradict the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress and the Ninth FDGB Congress.

## On the Work of the Arbitration Commissions

The arbitration commissions are doing well in handling the new requirements which arose with the introduction of the AGB. After all, they had to pronounce verdicts based on the new legal standards even before the state courts did so. In addition to the satisfactory, persuasive and largely correct decisions of the arbitration commissions we should single out their recommendations which provide managers and senior staffs and even some labor union leadership organizations with valuable suggestions on the improvement of work and the abolition of such defects as are likely to result in violations of the law.

An analysis of the work of arbitration commissions in recent years shows that more than 92 percent of their verdicts have stood (taking into account also court reviews of these verdicts). That is an excellent result.

On the occasion of the elections the arbitration commissions were able to draw up a positive balance sheet regarding their contribution to the implementation of socialist law. In many enterprises the arbitration commissions

pointed out that they are hardly ever called upon to discuss labor conflicts. However, the incidence of such discussions is only one aspect of their work. If we include in the appraisal their preventive and propagandist efforts, we see that labor legislation continues the main field of the arbitration commissions work. That is why the future activities of the newly elected arbitration commissions should also devote a great deal of time to the implementation of the AGB.

In accordance with the directive of the Ninth SED Congress on the expansion of the rights of social courts,<sup>3</sup> the state courts have been oriented to influencing, especially, the improvement of the social efficacy of the work of social courts. This also serves further to raise the authority of the social courts.

#### On the Volume of Labor Litigation

If we relate the cases of labor litigation dealt with by the arbitration commissions and the state courts to the numbers of blue and white collar workers and apprentices, some 62 cases of litigation are recorded per 10,000 employees. However, figures in the various bezirks tend to diverge quite sharply from this average, whether above or below. A thorough analysis in every bezirk will provide more detailed information about this phenomenon and certainly also suggestions for effective methods of preventive work, which should be generalized.

Fairly substantial differences in the incidence of labor litigation have also been recorded for the various sectors of the economy, and these differences bear little relation to their percentage of the total of employed persons.

Though the total of labor litigation is not really considerable, the arbitration commissions and courts, in close cooperation with the labor unions and the managers of combines and enterprises, must endeavor to achieve a positive change by removing the causes of litigation and conflicts. That demand is quite realistic. In more than 80 percent of litigation the court statistics report the causes as ignorance of the law, defective interpretation of the law and nonobservance of the law, and this among managers as well as working people. These statistics conceal some very different and complex phenomena --problems which cannot always be settled by the arbitration commissions and courts. That is why politico-ideological work must be developed more intensively, the relation of confidence between managers and working people further strengthened, the working people more thoroughly informed and the possibilities of the AGB more comprehensively used for the accomplishment of plan assignments.

The development of litigation in the various sections of the labor law generally shows that the AGB regulations are working out well in practice. At the same time we must not assume that it would not be possible to use the code even more effectively from some aspects. Inadequate yet, for example,

are the manager's efforts to prevent damage and exploit the opportunities offered by the AGB to protect socialist property. The consistent as well as sophisticated handling of AGB regulations regarding the material responsibility of the working people in the interest of the protection of socialist property continues one of the key issues in the direction of the administration of justice.

Many enterprises successfully use the opportunities offered by the AGB to overcome any lack of discipline. Among the plethora of possibilities I indicate the one providing for the disciplinary authority in the case of violations of discipline to apply to the arbitration commission to conduct an educational session (article 255 paragraph 3 AGB). This includes educationally effective disciplinary proceedings which involve the work collectives to at least some degree. However, the courts must always avoid disciplinary measures adopted without prior and appropriate disciplinary proceedings and, therefore, without the proper educational effect. It is an important concern of court guidance to strengthen the influence on the encouragement of collective dealings with disciplinary offenders.

At some trials the courts noted that labor regulations are working out well as means to ensure the greatest possible efficacy of labor, to strengthen labor discipline and also to encourage the development of socialist collective relations wherever these were initiated or revised on the basis of the AGB, and where management has them in daily use. In those instances, though, where the assignment for the establishment of a new labor regulation was fulfilled only formally, the most important opportunities offered by the AGB for the organization of efficient working conditions are not fully utilized.

By deciding conflicts in the field of innovator law the arbitration commissions and courts make an important contribution to the removal of disruptive influences on the qualitative advance of the innovator movement. Much litigation is caused by the inadequate work of enterprises with the innovators and by some managers lack of familiarity with the innovator law. The disputes to be decided rarely involve innovator agreements; they are usually concerned with innovator proposals. Frequently the matter at issue is the question whether the performance mentioned in the proposal in fact represents one of the respective worker's tasks. Later this year the Supreme Court Plenum will again occupy with court decisions on disputes in the field of the innovator law and answer questions which have emerged in the course of the year.

The incidence of litigation in the field of damage payments by enterprises has declined. This mainly reflects the new provision of the AGB, according to which the enterprises are generally liable in the case of accidents at work and occupational disease, and there is no need to prove enterprise dereliction of duty in health protection and accident prevention.

## On Labor Union Representation and Involvement in Court Proceedings

Trade union executives and leadership organizations work very hard to maintain their right to represent labor union members before the courts and to be involved in labor disputes. The incidence of labor union actions has risen every year. In about 68 percent of all labor disputes settled by the lower courts, labor union officials were involved either as advocates or in other capacities. Some 35 percent of their activities were concerned with representation at court proceedings and 65 percent with labor union involvement. Here also the situation varies in the various bezirks. The objective possibilities especially with regard to representation at court proceedings are not always fully used.

The courts consider that progress is satisfactory wherever groups of representatives at court proceedings operate in accordance with the "order on labor union representation at court proceedings and involvement in labor disputes"<sup>6</sup> decided on 1 August 1979 by the FDGB Federal Executive Board.

### Qualitatively Further To Develop Cooperation Between Labor Unions and Courts

In 1980 the secretariats of FDGB bezirk and kreis executives will discuss the efficacy of the AGB in their organizational spheres. It is the duty of directors of bezirk and kreis courts appropriately to prepare these discussions by reporting on the experiences gained in their work and labor union involvement in labor disputes as well as the application of the socialist labor law in the enterprises. As per article 301 paragraph 3 AGB such reports are to be given to the FDGB executives of their region. By this means it will be possible to arrive at conclusions for future work and achieve qualitative progress. For the development of labor union work on the basis of the above order of 1 August 1979 it is extremely important for the kreis courts to convey to the FDGB kreis executives information about pending litigation in such a way as to stimulate greater labor union representation at court proceedings. Judges will find a new field of action in participation in the training of groups of labor union advocates at court proceedings, who, by the end of the first half of 1980, will begin work as permanent study groups of the law commissions at FDGB kreis executives.

Finally it will be necessary to evaluate the results of the elections to the arbitration commissions. Their educational role and efficacy in the work collectives will increase alongside the further development of socialist democracy in production. At the same time there will be a greater need for skilled instruction which must be made more interesting and reach especially those members of arbitration commissions, who have been elected for the first time.

Confirmed in general is the appraisal of the conference of the FDGB Federal Executive Presidium on the informational report by the president of the GDR Supreme Court: Courts and labor unions are active allies in the realization of the AGB and the upholding of labor union rights.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. H. Heintze, "A Labor Union Congress of Far Reaching Significance," NEUE JUSTIZ No 12/1977, pp 349 ff.
2. H. Toeplitz, "On Some Court Tasks in Preparation of the Time When the AGB Will be in Effect," NEUE JUSTIZ No 13/1977, pp 625 ff.
3. U. Strasberg, "On the Application of the AGG in Court Verdicts as a Contribution to the Implementation of the Economic and Social Policies," NEUE JUSTIZ No 5/1979, p 200.
4. St. Utte, "A Law Which Effectively Helps to Encourage New Initiatives," THIARDE No 30, 12 February 1980, p 3.
5. See "Programm der SED" [SED Program], Berlin 1976, p 43.
6. INFORMATIONSBLAETT DES FDGB No 6/1979, pp 1 ff; ARBEIT UND ARBEITSRECHT No 11/1979, pp 503 ff; see also R. Krinke, "New Order on Labor Union Representation of Interests in Labor Litigation," NEUE JUSTIZ No 9/1979, pp 398 f.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**BRIEFS**

MAYORS AT CIVIL DEFENSE COURSE--Mayors of towns and local communities have attended civil defense courses in civil defense bezirk schools. They have acquired commanders skills required for the protection of the citizens and the assets of the national economy, and practiced the organization and direction of operations. (East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jun 80 p 7)

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NEMETH EXPLAINS PARTY'S CADRE POLICY

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 7, 80 pp 3-10

(Article by Karoly Nemeth: "Concerning the Cadre Work of Our Party," a speech given by Comrade Karoly Nemeth at the Berlin conference, 3-6 June 1980, of Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries)

[Text] Like our fraternal parties the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party also attributes great significance to cadre work conducted on correct theoretical foundations. It is a responsibility toward the people and an obligation deriving from the leading role of the party that it should constantly see to it that leading posts are filled by cadres which are well trained politically and professionally, faithful to the cause of socialism and ready for sacrifice. The cadres standing at the leading posts of the workers' power, of socialist construction work, have a determining role in the realization of the leading role of the party, in the implementation of its policy and in strengthening the mass contacts of the party. The complex tasks standing before us in the building of socialism, such tasks as the intensive development of the national economy and strengthening the socialist aspects of society, require higher level work and increase the demands made of leaders and of cadre work.

Great significance attaches to whether suitable cadres are available in the given situation to carry out concrete tasks. In the period of the struggle for power and in the period of the building of socialism our party always turned great attention to cadre work. Even today we regard this task as an organic part and constant element of party work.

The policy of the party at any time has a close interdependence and mutual effect with cadre work. When the political line was distorted at the beginning of the 1950's this left its stamp on cadre work also.

Following the defeat of the counterrevolution the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party restored the Lenin norms of party life, worked out a political program resting on the principled foundations of building socialism and developed cadre work corresponding to this, work which has stood the test of

of time and well serves the cause of building socialism and the interests of our people and our homeland as well as our socialist community and the international communist and labor movement.

The party's cadre work embraces every area of social life. In harmony with the alliance policy our party follows the principle that in our homeland non-party people can fill any leading office--with the exception of party offices. Naturally we also expect from non-party leaders that they will meet the requirements made of the cadres. The fact that non-party people fill leading offices in significant numbers increases the credit of our alliance policy and expands the mass base of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this respect the situation is well characterized by the 8 June national assembly and council elections. There is a communist majority in the national assembly and in the capital and megye councils but 31 percent of the candidates for representative and more than 50 percent of the candidates for council member in the lower level councils come from among non-party people. In every concrete case it must be decided who is more suitable for the given function, whether he be a party member or a non-party person.

We believe that those in leading posts in our homeland--both party members and non-party people--must meet the triple requirement of political suitability, professional understanding and leadership maturity, requirements which form a unity in our cadre work.

By political suitability we mean before all else an unconditional commitment to the socialist system, the worker class and the power of the working people. Since we know from our own experience how extraordinarily important a correct interpretation of the relationship to power is our party turns especially great attention to it. "The power which guides the life of our entire people in Hungary is the power of the worker class," Comrade Janos Kadar has pointed out. "Naturally, posts of power are also needed to implement the power and exercise it in everyday life. Workers fill a significant part of these posts here but the power is not theirs personally, rather it is that of the worker class. They have only received a commission to ensure, protect and realize the power of the worker class. This is not their personal power, rather it is service!" Our party takes care that the leaders never forget this, that they remain always aware that they carry out their functions on the basis of the trust of the worker class which is in power, and this obliges them to use power for the good of the people and never to misuse it.

As for professional understanding, state regulations specify what training is needed to fill this or that leadership job. At the same time we constantly emphasize that only that leader can hold his own who has modern professional preparation and tries to keep up with the domestic and international development of his profession. This is why we urge that leaders regularly train themselves, pay attention to, master and make use of the new scientific and technical achievements in their areas. State regulations also prescribe that

leaders are obliged to take part in professional study courses at least every 5 years. In addition to basic training the concept of professional preparedness of leaders now includes the level of economic, leadership and other knowledge necessary for the given position and the appropriate professional and practical experience.

In addition to political and professional suitability we turn great care to leadership maturity, to seeing that the cadres are ready for leadership. Coming into the foreground especially now are receptivity to the new, initiative, responsibility coupled with independence and the ability to organize and aid execution and adjust to new conditions. We should encourage and support leaders who demand order and discipline. But in our view purposeful guidance cannot mean giving too many orders and cannot injure human dignity. Determination must always be coupled with humanity, a democratic leadership style and far-reaching respect for the rights of the workers. We regard the selection of such leaders, placing them in office and supporting them politically to be a priority task of cadre work.

Increasing efficiency, improving quality and the rational, economical use of material and intellectual resources demand such leaders in every area of social life.

Leaders must meet the norms of socialist morality at a high level. We expect them to serve the common interest with devotion, to strengthen community spirit with their lives, work and behavior and to be modest and ready for sacrifice.

Our party condemns and considers alien to a leadership position all self-satisfaction, egoism, discounting the opinion of others, avenging criticism, immoral exploitation of contacts and opportunities or acquiring material and other advantages. We take a strong stand for the realization of the moral demands of socialism and we regard conciliatory or permissive behavior in this area impermissible.

In both its theoretical and practical work our party guards against rigid schema. We try to realize this in cadre work too. The triple requirement made of leaders is a constant element of our cadre work but we do not treat even this as a dogma; we apply the principles flexibly and rationally, subordinating them to our social and political goals. It is obvious, for example, that when the question of "who will overcome whom" was not yet decided in our homeland there was a sharp political struggle in the filling of power posts. At that time the historical circumstances and the interests of the worker class and the people demanded that political reliability be virtually the exclusive point of view in selecting leaders.

Of course, even today and in the future too the requirement of political suitability, of realizing class viewpoints, will enjoy priority. But today this means more than reliability because amidst the relationships of building a developed socialism, 35 years after the liberation of our homeland, we

regard it as natural that the leaders should be solidly committed, ideologically and politically, to the socialist system. We expect leaders to have high level political knowledge, to be capable of independent application of the policy of the party in their own areas, getting it accepted and carrying it out, of standing up openly for the policy of the party even in difficult situations. We emphasize this especially because work done amidst more complex conditions necessarily creates more conflict situations than before and we need leaders who will stand their ground under all conditions. At the same time the more complex economic and social relationships require that we place greater emphasis on the professional understanding and leadership maturity of the cadres.

We have found that the consistent realization of the triple requirement made of leaders is accompanied by appropriate results. We feel that the great majority of our leaders are able to satisfy their tasks. In general their work and behavior are characterized by a persuasive espousal of and service to the policy of the party although some of them--because of deficiencies in leadership ability--are unable to couple this with appropriate, consistent execution. We have found deficiencies in the realization of national economic interests and we have found a slowness to adapt to changing conditions.

The cadre work of our party is imbued with trust toward people, toward the leaders, with the deeply humane conviction that people can be educated and are capable of development. We regard criticism as an indispensable element of education. We are working to create a party-like, critical and self-critical atmosphere in which it will be natural to speak with complete openness of the work of the leaders, of their virtues and faults. In our opinion criticism is not directed against people but against their errors and mistakes, it is for people and serves their development. We adopt the idea of our great poet, Attila Jozsef, who said: "I am angry for you, not against you." We encourage leaders who are backward in their development, who are struggling with deficiencies, with helpful criticism, patience and trust to carry out their tasks better. From the viewpoint of educating the cadres it is very important that we not "collect" the deficiencies noted in their work or behavior but rather bring them up openly and in time.

Classification is well proven in our practice as a basic method of evaluating leader work and behavior. A party and government resolution prescribes the classification of leaders every four years. We try to see that this classification process should be free of all stereotypes and formality and should contain a frank and realistic evaluation of the work and behavior of the subject. We urge that the classification should not be limited to positive properties but should also include errors and deficiencies and the conclusions that can be drawn from them. I must say frankly that this is still one of the weak points of cadre work. This usually appears when we want to appoint the cadre involved to another area or a higher post. In such cases we discover many more bad characteristics and human and leadership weaknesses in the comrades involved than were contained in his classification.

Our party adopts as its own and implements that very important principle that the basis for and chief criterion of classifying or judging leaders should be the work done and the behavior exhibited. In addition to their knowledge of the goals and policy of the party the workers form their opinion about the party and our social system on the basis of the example of the leaders. Thus the credit of our policy depends in large measure on the work and behavior of the leaders. We have found that it is not an easy task to realize this principle consistently in practice. In everyday work we run into a number of objective and attitudinal obstacles. We know very well that the dangers of subjectivism, prejudice, friendly links, one-sidedness and provincialism are always present in cadre work, in judging and deciding personnel questions. We feel that the strongest antidote against this is to regard leadership behavior and the effectiveness of the work done as the chief standard, preceding all others. This makes our cadre work better and more objective. We take consistent action against all forms of subjectivism. The most effective method for this is if we develop democratism in cadre work, if we create conditions which ensure as much as possible principled and objective decisions in cadre questions.

Democratism, openness and trust are characteristics of the cadre work of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party which derive from the essence of socialism. In the light of this our party maintains that there is no place in cadre work for any sort of secrecy or mystification. We follow the practice that we decide all personnel questions with the knowledge of the person affected. The cadres know the materials which pertain to them. The organizational system within the party and appropriate legal regulations in state life guarantee the realization of these principles which are followed in our cadre work.

In the interest of developing democratism our party has taken a number of concrete measures. The most significant of these is that the decision of every important cadre question has been taken from the one-person sphere of authority and transferred to the sphere of authority of the appropriate elected party bodies. This does not decrease, on the contrary it increases the responsibility of the leaders for the cadre work being done in their own areas.

There was a time when a high degree of centralism was realized in cadre work. This was a political necessity following the winning of power when masses of cadre had to be directed to power organizations and leading posts of economic and cultural life. Amidst our present social conditions another style and other methods are needed and are made possible in cadre work too.

In the recent past we decentralized to a significant degree cadre spheres of authority and the right of making appointments. For example, we decreased to one half the number of leading posts belonging to the central nomenklatura of the party, giving the rest to the sphere of authority of party organs of megye rank. At the same time we increased the cadre sphere of authority of party organs of jaras rank. Our principle is that cadre questions should

be decided where they know the person best. At the same time we continue to consider it of fundamental importance that central aspirations should be appropriately realized in our cadre work too. We developed further the right of party primary organizations to give an opinion. In our present practice this means that a possible differing opinion of the party primary organization can have a delaying effect, and the personnel question involved must be submitted to a higher party organ.

We broadened the system of filling leading posts by means of a competition--primarily in scientific, education, health and cultural areas--and awarding them for a definite time. The democratization of cadre work is also served by the fact that the working collectives--through their interest representation organs--have an ever greater say in selecting and judging their leaders. The trade unions have broad rights in offering their opinion in personnel questions and in the case of young people the youth federation has received such rights. It is true that they do not yet make use of this possibility everywhere. We are trying to make them aware of and realize the greater responsibility that goes with greater rights. We are trying to eliminate the irrational practice of accumulating functions, which also limits democratism. In some cases it is unavoidable that some leaders should have several functions, in the interest of ensuring party guidance of state work or in the interest of ensuring appropriate representation, but we are taking action against the unjustified accumulation of functions and we are trying to bring more and more new people, including young people, into public life.

We are thinking about how to further strengthen the democratic control of leadership work and how to increase further such possibilities for the collectives in the state area also. On the basis of provisions now valid or by developing them further we want to ensure, primarily in the area of the economy, a more worthy contribution by the workers in appointing leaders and in giving opinions concerning or supervising their work. From this viewpoint we have had good experience in that the membership elects its leaders directly in the producer cooperatives, and they do not do a bad job either.

Our party is turning great care to the organization and planned nature of cadre work. The leaders are encouraged to do planned cadre work. According to a resolution of our Central Committee we have developed a system for cadre replacement and training plans in central and megye party organs and in state, economic and cooperative organs of a national character. These plans cover 5-year cycles and they are adjusted to the medium range economic plan. They cover tasks connected with the professional and political training and further training of leaders in the sphere of authority, personnel ideas pertaining to the replacement of leaders and what must be done to train the candidates, prepare them and provide them with assignments. The preparation of the cadre replacement and training plans has proven a good tool in making cadre replacement better planned.

Stability and planned exchanges are important principles and practices of our cadre work. Stability has a good effect on the level of leadership and

on making use of experience and it increases the feeling of security of the leaders. But the healthy development of leadership personnel and the struggle against habit, routine and backwardness require a rational measure of deliberately organized exchanges. A social necessity and the democratism of our system are expressed in the fact that the circle of leaders is constantly renewed with new cadres.

The precipitate removal of cadres is just as much a mistake as postponing exchanges ripe for decision. We feel that it is the responsibility of the party toward the people to take care in time of cadre matters ripe for decision--keeping in mind the interests of the community. It is proper and just for a person not to remain in a leadership position if he cannot work according to the higher requirements, if the collective is suffering because of him. Striving for stability is correct only as long as it pertains to those on whom it is possible to build.

It is our experience that a number of circumstances make difficult and hold back the replacement of leading cadres. We must speak in this connection of a negative phenomenon which the Central Committee has criticized on a number of occasions. The movement of cadres is substantially in only one direction between the party, the mass organizations and the state organs and economic areas. Movement leaders become state and economic leaders but the reverse happens less frequently, for which there are primarily attitudinal and material reasons. It is also a problem that public opinion generally regards functionaries who have been relieved and assigned to a lower post as "fallen men" although frequently all that is involved is that they have been given jobs which better suit their abilities. Cadre exchanges which are carried out in time and with suitable justification decrease the possibility of forming incorrect opinions and help in creating less doubt and more trust. We are trying to aid this by making dealings with leaders better planned and by a forward looking preparation of cadres.

Our party turns special attention to the replacement of leaders. Today, in the period of building a developed socialism, we have the opportunity of selecting leaders from a broad circle of experts who have graduated from university or college. At the same time--and this follows from the essence of our socialist system--we are striving to see that the best of the workers and peasants should attain to leading positions in political, economic and social life even in the present period. They should be prepared for leadership assignments gradually and continuously with forward looking, planned education and training. A significant number of the most talented physical workers can be found in the leading party, state and mass organization bodies. They have the opportunity of mastering the political and professional information. Many of them go to responsible posts and it is a source of pleasure for us that there are more and more such talented physical workers.

It is our experience that it is very important that various age groups be together in the leadership, that a healthy ratio of younger and older

be developed. It is an axiom long recognized. The wisdom, poise and life experience--and let me add, revolutionary faith--of the older must be coupled with the fresh, modern knowledge, initiative and enthusiasm of the young. In the interest of seeing young people become leaders we are taking determined action against prejudice and those who fear for their positions and we do not permit disadvantageous discrimination against the young.

In addition to the youth we must say a word about the older generation which makes up the bulk of the leadership. The great majority of them do their work well and serve as a bridge between earlier generations and the young. Our party takes care in a humane way of those old cadres behind whom stand years filled with successful and self-sacrificing work, who have done so much for our people and for socialism. We continue to count on their experience and if their age and health permit it we give them important social work. We also deal with far-reaching humanity with those comrades who held their ground for decades but whose health has deteriorated or whose strength is exceeded by the increased tasks.

We turn great attention to increasing the ratio of women in leading posts. There has been development in the last few years in this respect but the rate of change is unjustifiably slow. In order to accelerate the process we will have to overcome the backward views and prejudices which still exist to a considerable extent. We must create favorable conditions for the political and professional training of women and we must deal in a planned way with bringing them into the leadership on a broad scale.

Our party turns special attention to the selection of leaders, to their ideological preparation and political training and further training. Party resolutions and state provisions prescribe what political training is needed to fill certain leadership positions. A system for the political training and further training of leaders has been developed.

Our Political Academy and a national network of instruction directorates are operating successfully. Each year about 55,000 people acquire political and ideological information in cadre training schools and courses at various levels. The National Leader Training Center and the institutions of the ministries and main authorities established for this purpose play a significant role in state further training for leaders. In the period between the two congresses the great majority of state and economic leaders participated in political and professional further training in these at least once. In the course of the Marxist-Leninist training and political education of the cadres we turn great care to seeing that they become real socialist leaders, that they are profoundly filled with devotion to the cause of socialism, respect for the people, love for the homeland and the proletarian internationalism which is inseparable from it.

We express our sincere thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which offers great aid to the training of our cadres. Entire generations of our political and state leaders had the opportunity of studying for

longer or briefer times in the Soviet Union, drawing from the rich experiences of the CPSU and getting to know the achievements of Soviet science. Each year several thousand Hungarian experts, students and leaders participate in high level training in the universities, colleges and further training courses of the Soviet Union and in the schools of the CPSU.

The 12th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party established with a good feeling that the policy of our party, which has served the interests of our entire people without a break for more than two decades, was realized in the fundamental areas of social life during the past 5 years also. The internal political life of our homeland is balanced, the power of the worker class is strong, the socialist national unity of our people is strong. The party is playing its leading role and enjoys the trust and active support of the workers. A great role in all this is played by those quarter million cadres who are active in various areas of social life.

The congress also established that the great majority of the leaders working at various levels meet the requirements, live and work according to socialist principles. The supreme forum of our party confirmed our cadre policy as part of the main line and expressed the fact that in our day, in the period of building a developed socialist society, the role of the cadre will constantly increase. The congress confirmed the demand that cadre work keep pace with accelerating development and that in its content and its methods it adjust better and with greater determination to the tasks standing before our society. A better bringing out of the capabilities hiding in people is a crucial question for our further progress. Leaders have a task of key importance in bringing to the surface and putting into the service of society, of socialist construction, the ambition, creativity and initiative which exist in people. We are convinced that our chief reserves in the building of the developed socialist society reside in the human factors and this reserve must be successfully and effectively mobilized with the tools of cadre work too.

An indispensable condition for this is that all offices be filled by leaders who, in the words of the congress report of the Central Committee, "are politically firm, but not rigid; who have professional understanding and broad horizons; who have initiative but are not hasty; who are disciplined and demand this of others but who at the same time respect and take into consideration the opinion of others and are able to face their own weaknesses; who live and work in an exemplary manner; and who are surrounded by the respect of their colleagues and of the community because of all this."

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**COMPUTER UTILIZATION IN ARMED FORCES DESCRIBED**

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 23, 7 Jun 80 p 16

[Article by Peter Buki: "A Computer With the Troops"]

[Text] We reported last fall that a number of units of the people's army were using the new domestically manufactured computer family to help modernize materials record keeping in the supply services of the units. We here report on the experiences thus far at one of the designated units in the military use of the small PRACTICOMP 4000 electronic computer, developed by the Electric Automation Institute and proven in many areas of the national economy.

The young leader of the accounting section which operates and uses the small computer, Sandor Vamosi, is an appointed civilian employee who, as a student of the Accounting Academy, had studied with great interest the possibilities hiding in various computers. Then a few weeks before completion of his obligatory military service—he had twice been an outstanding soldier—the supply deputy to the unit commander asked him if he would accept an important assignment after he was discharged. He accepted.

**Experimental Period**

"We got the PC 4000 nearly a year ago," he recalled the circumstances of the creation and forging together of the section. "In the first period we did data preparation work for the three units which belong to us from the viewpoint of record keeping..."

This meant that those working in his section and the chiefs of the respective service branches had to take into consideration all the supplies and tools at these units and had to provide each item with a 12 digit code number on the basis of the army product code register. When they had compiled the code register necessary for machine data processing and had completed the data preparation work they received a centrally prepared program system; then they began parallel processing; that is, together with the traditional card file record keeping they could begin machine data processing also.

Because of the lack of sufficient experience and practice things did not go entirely smoothly in the first months but as they got over the difficulties of on-the-job training work did go more smoothly and the error rate constantly dropped. After the completion of the experimental period Sandor Vassai could report with satisfaction that computer data processing and record keeping came up to the original expectations in every respect. As a result in the near future, with the permission of their superiors, they will end traditional record keeping.

#### Speed and Precision

The advantage of computer data processing as opposed to the traditional system appears especially well in the area of machine accounting of trip tickets and record keeping for vehicle technology tools. The favorable effect of this can be measured especially in subunits which are relieved of much "paper work" such as preparing monthly reports on vehicle use. With the help of the computer fuel use can be checked continuously. In addition, with the help of the computer they can indicate by number at any time the vehicles subject to inspection, ready for an oil change or consuming too much on the basis of consumption and kilometer performance.

Since the PRACTICOMP 4000 can store data they can use summation programs to prepare combined reports at the end of a given month, quarter or calendar year concerning fuel and oil consumption, kilometer use, technical service and costs for individual vehicles. But in case of need they can get these data any day and this facilitates swift and precise work by the vehicle technical service.

For the time being it is too soon to prepare a really basic balance concerning work time saved. But it is certain that in the vehicle technical service alone the work time used can be decreased to about 60-70 percent as compared to earlier manual record keeping. This is not to speak of the significance of the large volume and reliability of ready data. Soon the leaders of more and more service branches will be able to use in their work the advantages of broad and detailed information received from the computer. And since computation errors are made more easily in manual record keeping the error rate can be reduced essentially to zero with careful data preparation and proper filling out of accounting documents. All the more so because the computer itself helps filter out erroneous data. If basic data which do not correspond to reality are fed into it indicates what seems illogical to it.

Earlier in carrying out various inventory tasks the manual preparation of comparable indexes took very much time as did the mathematical evaluation of the inventory. By using a computer this work, which meant great attention and fatigue, can be eliminated, which means a time saving of about 60 percent.

## Much Data in a Small Place

We should certainly mention, among the favorable properties of a small electronic computer, that the storage of data requires substantially less space as compared to a traditional system and access to it is much better too. To make this point it suffices to note that all the "material" of an averagely equipped unit--from ashtrays to fuel trucks--will fit into one suitcase. And since the data are stored on exchangeable magnetic disks the storage space use is a good bit more economical, as with magnetic tape cassettes...

Naturally the PC 4000 can be used for very many calculations which greatly facilitate the activities of commanders and the chiefs of service branches in training, personnel work, carrying out battle tasks, in the swift and precise execution of tasks and accounting connected with battle readiness and in many other areas.

In the time it has been used thus far the small computer consisting of six main units--central unit, exchangeable disk background storage, fixed disk background storage, listing unit and two operating units--has proven itself in terms of reliability also. Except for the lack of alignment which occurs from time to time--and which the technicians of the section were able to correct immediately--there has hardly been any need to call experts from the manufacturing plant. Naturally this is also due to the fact that every member of the accounting section, consisting of only six people, has done his or her work with great responsibility and understanding from the beginning. This is reflected in the fact that the leaders of the study course organized last year for PRACTICOMP 4000 operators expressed to the unit commander their appreciation for the outstanding test results of the members of the section. More recognition was given them in the recent past. Sandor Vamosi was praised by the commander of the higher unit for the outstanding performance of the section. But those words of praise which they can frequently hear from those whose daily work they aid directly, making it swifter and more precise with the computer which they have already grown used to, mean even more to them.

## PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Sandor Vamosi, leader of the accounting section, is satisfied with the PC 4000 small computer in every respect.
2. Summary reports can be prepared in a short time at any time with the aid of the computer.
3. The computer immediately warns its operator if it senses the input of erroneous data.
4. The workers of the accounting section are very well acquainted with the operation of the new, modern data processing tool.

SELF-STYLED HIPPY INTERVIEWED ABOUT LIFE, BELIEFS

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian No 24, 15 Jun 80 pp 18-19

[interview with unnamed "hippy" by Zoltan Brady. The Hungarian word is "csovera" which comes from the "pipe" pants worn by the "csoverek." It is rendered here as "hippy."]

[Text] 1.

[Hippy] OK. I'll rap with you, but only if you don't use my name. Or spill it to the cops.

[Question] I won't write your name. But they just checked your papers. Everything was all right, wasn't it?

[Answer] I always look out for that. I have a job again.

[Question] How many have you had?

[Answer] Nineteen.

[Question] And you are 21 years old, 3 years out of secondary school. How many "geza" do you have on you? [UJ TUKOR note: "Geza" is a slang name for a preparation which can be obtained from a pharmacy only by prescription.]

[Answer] Five.

[Question] You have not lived at home for 3 years?

[Answer] Only off and on. I told them I was a hippy. A real hippy. I admit it.

[Question] Then why don't you let me write your name and take your picture? If everything is OK with the police?

[Answer] Because of my mom and dad. Dad is a department chief in a place with a "good name" and mom is a teacher.

[Question] How did your graduation exams go?

[Answer] I always got very good marks. Well, where shall we talk?

[Question] Come to my apartment. It is quiet and peaceful there.

[Answer] Can I go like this?

[Question] Why, are you ashamed? You can certainly come. All your clothes are black. Why?

[Answer] Because I like it.

[Question] Well, here we are.

[Answer] Should I take off my boots?

[Question] It doesn't bother me. Take them off if you like. You take them off rarely?

[Answer] Not very often. It depends on where I sleep.

[Question] Really, where do you usually sleep?

[Answer] Wherever. I have slept in stair wells, railway stations, on the street, in parks, or wherever I could find a pad.

[Question] Let's put your boots out on the balcony. They are a little ripe.

[Answer] Yeah, I noticed that myself.

[Question] So, when do you usually visit your parents?

[Answer] Once a month. And I call them on the phone every 4 days.

[Question] Why every 4 days?

[Answer] Because if I don't they'll tell the police that I have disappeared.

2.

[Hippy] This rap is going to cost you.

[Question] How much are you asking?

[Answer] I don't need money now, just a little grub.

[Question] Coming up. But what do you live on?

[Answer] What people give me. I never steal anything.

[Question] So you beg?

[Answer] Not from everyone. I am not a free loader. I don't need anything. If it turns out that way then a bun is enough for all day. There have been weeks when I had no hot food.

[Question] You are very thin.

[Answer] I'm 178 centimeters and weigh 55 kilos. I've been down to 49 too.

[Question] From the geza?

[Answer] Yeah. But now I am trying to give it up.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Sometimes the geza makes you run amok. I saw Cs. kill himself. He was 23 years old.

[Question] And did you hear about the death of B.? I have seen you together.

[Answer] I wasn't there when K. stabbed B. in the belly. I read about it in the papers. Even that scared me. The police questioned me too. All I could do was cry. I was sorry for the dead guy and for the murderer. They were friends. It was the geza that killed B. and made K. a murderer.

[Question] What's good about it?

[Answer] If I were to tell you you wouldn't write it. I know it is wrong, of course. I feel that I am endangering my life. And I know that it may not be long. I admit that sometimes I moan, why don't I have passions like other citizens, like fishing or stamp collecting or gardening, because that is a hobby too, in sublimated form. Opium. Believe me, I desire the free fulfilment of individuality.

[Question] We will talk about that later. You do not drink a little wine?

[Answer] In the first place I don't like it and in the second place I can't drink it with that.

3.

[Question] I have noticed that you always have a book under your arm. I have often seen you reading on the square, even taking notes.

[Answer] I have a little notebook. If I find interesting passages, important for me, I write them down.

[Question] How many notebooks have you filled up?

[Answer] About ten.

[Question] I have seen you reading Gyorgy Lukacs, Spinoza, Lenin, most recently Kierkegaard. Do you belong to a library?

[Answer] Yes. I read 3-4 books a week. When I find a place to stay the first thing I do is to pick out the best books and I read until they kick me out.

[Question] Did you apply for a university after graduating from secondary school?

[Answer] Philosoph. They did not take me because...I had already been up for something. I wanted to defect but they caught me.

4.

[Question] Do you have good memories of when you were little?

[Answer] It depends on what you mean by good memories. Because I got everything a child needs. A well furnished home.... I have a younger brother and a younger sister (11 and 15 years old). We got food and clean clothes. They kept after me about my studies but they didn't have to because often all I needed was what I heard in class. If I asked for pocket money I got it. But unfortunately this prosperity had its price. I noticed that pretty quick. I had no parents. In the sense that they had no time for me. My mother worked and then rushed home and did the housework, washing and cooking and cleaning. My father did "kk" work. [UJ TUKOR note: "KK" means "outside the budget," that is, work paid for specially.] He worked every day until midnight. The most hated word in our house was "kk" work. My father was always laying it on my head--when he didn't play with me or have time to talk to me--that if there were no "kk" work then we wouldn't have a tape recorder or clothes or a living standard better than average..., that he was drudging for us. He was right but it had no effect. If he had time he helped my mother or watched the news on TV. Sometimes he studied or talked. Sometimes he would tell me to be quiet because the news was interesting. I got the feeling that we were a family which had fallen apart yet stayed together formally. So I very often went down to the street (we live in a modern development) and spent more and more time with my pals. At first my parents didn't say anything because my studies were OK. The rest of the boys and girls, just like I, sat on the benches in their boredom. We got into everything. The authorities had to deal with me first when I was in the eighth grade. They arrested me for selling pornographic pictures. One of the kids stole them from his father.

[Question] What did they say at home?

[Answer] My father always espoused modern pedagogical principles. He was always occupied with my two younger siblings because they were weaker students. He only hit me once.

[Question] When was that?

[Answer] In the eighth grade we had to fill out a form for further study. My father asked me what I wanted to be. I told him it made no difference to me, only I didn't want to be a man like he was. He hit me for that.

3.

[Question] You have been loafing around the squares for years, playing the hippy in the underpasses. Do you not find your situation without prospects?

[Answer] If I listened to my brain or to general social customs I would have to say that it was without prospects. But I have not found a better yet and actually I feel very well about it.

[Question] Did you have friends when you were a child?

[Answer] I did. And lots of them. We would get together in the park. There we would curse and smoke and play tape recorders. We would sit around for hours swinging our legs. It was good to be together.

[Question] You didn't belong to the Pioneers or anything like that?

[Answer] If I think back I can understand the over-worked teachers. My mother was one of them. They did not have time for us. They were always doing administrative work or drawing up plans. They read me the decrees and the pledges...and all of a sudden I saw that they were lying. One time by accident I read the report about what our Pioneer troop was doing. We weren't doing anything and here they were saying what high class kids we were. All we did was collect paper. It was paper and that's all. But I did have a unique excess.

[Question] What was that?

[Answer] The Church! The Catholic church. Now I don't know how it happened but I got close to the priest. I got the idea to go to catechism, to go to mass. I took my pals too. We even officiated. The organ and the ceremony really got me. I always adored ceremony. Even now--the covered table, the dish and the napkin. We had those things only Sunday noon. During the week we would eat standing, rushing, in a hurry....

[Question] Tell me about the priest.

[Answer] I do not deny that for a while I was really into the Church. I studied the catechism and listened to the sermons and then my pals and I

discovered that it was all unctuous lies. Hobbies. Even after 2,000 years the only truth is the foam on the beer. There was nothing substantial. I left it. I remember, my mother gave a sigh of relief.

[Question] She had not intervened?

[Answer] No. I respected her for that. But somehow those few months when I believed gave me a good feeling. Imagine, I had complete faith in God. I tell you seriously, it was like I was going around all the time with eight gezas in me. I still respect those who believe. What do I care what they believe in as long as they believe in something. As long as they have some ideal....

[Question] You never did?

[Answer] They could not get to me with Petofi or Kossuth; they were already passe I felt and they could not sell me the new ones. The priest was the cleverest. He knew how to package the goods! But I am lying.... Because I did have an ideal. Guevara. I worshipped that man. He left his plush chair as a minister, left his pay and joined the partisans. That's class! I often thought I would go to South America and do something like Guevara. I was 16 at the time. I confess also that when we were still little brats sitting on park benches we dreamed of how good it would be to fight against the Americans in Vietnam. I couldn't get interested in the revolution of peaceful construction work. Let me add that on one of my jobs I was a member of the KISZ. That didn't work for me either. Meetings, evaluations, membership dues. That was not my cup of tea. And those grand speeches! And then when a groveling yes man became KISZ secretary because he was OK to the chiefs (that's why they insisted on him) but not to us, the members. I was the only one to vote against him. But the others were bored by it, they were just waiting for it to be over, they were indifferent. It made no difference to them who was KISZ secretary. I think it was hard luck that got me into just these places and situations. But that's how it was.

[Question] Why did you tell your father that you didn't want to be a man like he was?

[Answer] Because I saw how he was drudging. He drags his yoke like a blind horse. Day after day, year after year. For money, and then for more money, for premiums, so there will be more money. Others who do not work get as much. Dad has his decorations, he could rest on his laurels, but he has to have the money. And then he laments that his organization does not like him. That's why I told him I did not want to be like that. That's why I hate money.

6.

[Question] So what sort of man do you want to be?

[Answer] I am waiting. Until I find something in myself which is of value, which I can make use of. I read and read. Now I've taken to philosophy. It is difficult to orient oneself here also. There are as many opinions as there are men. Somewhere, sometime I've got to get through. So I am waiting for that. Or for somebody to convince me of something in which I can believe.

[Question] You cannot complain that society does not provide an opportunity for that.

[Answer] The law and the regulations provide an opportunity for it. What the law requires of me--that I commit no crimes and that I have a job at least every 3 months--I try to adhere to the paper forms of that. And you see that that does not tie me down.

[Question] What do your parents say to your staying out?

[Answer] They have gotten used to it. I no longer have a key.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] After graduation my parents and brother and sister went on vacation. The place was empty. Some 15-20 of my buddies came up and lived there for 2 weeks. Then there was a big row because the apartment was messed up and two chicken thieves crept in among us and sold my mother's jewelry and pawned her fur coat. Since then I have not had a key to the apartment but I can go home any time. At that time my parents were nearly out of their minds. I understood them. They even took me to a psychologist.

[Question] What did he say?

[Answer] That I am infantile. But normal. By any chance would you have a Doors record?

[Question] I loaned it to somebody.

[Answer] Then the new Pink Floyd is good too. Put it on.... Another reason I don't go home is because they are afraid for my brother and sister, afraid I will ruin them.

[Question] Your group gets together regularly on this square or in some underpass. How do you spend the time?

[Answer] We get together and talk. We argue. We feel good because we resemble one another. You know, this is a "subculture".... We shoot up and idle about. There is always someplace where we can get together and we spend days there.

[Question] Sex?

[Answer] That too....

[Question] With love?

[Answer] That is rare among us. It is back and forth as it pleases us. But do not believe that there is much of it.... Sexual desire is unpredictable and unreliable because of the geza.

[Question] You are 21. Doesn't it bother you?

[Answer] A couple of times it drove me crazy when I failed myself and the girl.... It frequently hurts too...but I have gotten used to it.

[Question] Have you ever overdosed?

[Answer] A couple times. Most often at concerts. (And not at the Music Academy.)

[Question] What is your favorite band?

[Answer] The Beatrice and the Pyramid.... That's when I shoot up.... One time in Isaszeg I asked a policeman where I was (they were taking me in), I didn't know how I got to Isaszeg--from Moscow Square. Every summer we go down to the Balaton.... One time I found myself in Zalaegerszeg.... Things like that.

[Question] How did you start taking drugs?

[Answer] Somebody offered me some on e; since then it feels good. I no longer know who it was.

[Question] How do you get it?

[Answer] You have to have a blank prescription, the rest is not difficult. They don't ask any questions. I don't even tip.

[Question] How did the police get you?

[Answer] They frisked me and I could not give an adequate explanation for the bundle of prescriptions. I got a warning and then a referral...three times. The last time the father of one of the girls helped smooth things over. But he said it was for the last time because I promised that it wouldn't happen again.

7.

[Question] Look, I tell you quite frankly, I can't understand you.

[Answer] A man is responsible for his own fate. I do with myself what I want. I am not a criminal.

[Question] And if they tighten up on prescription writing?

[Answer] You can get around anything.

[Question] You are living on the neck of society.... You are a parasite....

[Answer] Don't preach! I have used up a few clothes in 3 years and I only have what I get. I am satisfied with very little.

[Question] And is there not a price if on a cold winter night an older woman or man takes you in?

[Answer] That is another question. It is a question of moral conceptions. Anyway, what can they do with me?

[Question] You are a fallen man.

[Answer] From your point of view yes, but I like it.

[Question] Have you tried to get off drugs?

[Answer] I've tried but it doesn't work. The doctors are not prepared for it, they will not talk to us unless the police take us there. And I do not go to the police.

[Question] This lack of purpose is a swamp.

[Answer] If everybody were like this it would be. But the indifference of people today toward one another is at least as much of a swamp.... How many of us are there? A hundred? A thousand? Ten thousand? This is not many out of ten million.

[Question] Did you never have any desires?

[Answer] Indeed I did. But they immediately turned into illusions; I take a few gezas and I feel myself to be where I want to be (and I experience it).

[Question] Do you believe in miracles?

[Answer] I believe in faith.

[Question] And will you believe in 30 years?

[Answer] Then that's my bad luck. I know myself and my situation. I know (I have studied Zen Buddhism too) that I am not yet ENLIGHTENED.

[Question] Do you blame anyone that you have become such a person?

[Answer] I?!. Whom would I blame and why? I could do anything. I know that if I go on like this, I will not live long. But then I will also know that I have lost in a great game of chance--on which, perhaps, I bet my life.

NATIONAL DEFENSE LEAGUE TRAINS SPECIALISTS FOR THE MILITARY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 May 80 p 3

[Text] Preparing of the youth for basic military service and training of specialists for the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic are among the main program responsibilities of the National Defense League (LOK). The question of how they are being fulfilled was the subject of discussion by members of the main board of this organization on Thursday in Warsaw.

For 35 years LOK has played a part in forming among the citizens a sense of responsibility for the state of national defense and security.

The fundamental link that determines the results, however, is work with the youth, especially those of pre-conscription and conscription age.

Besides the massive political and propaganda activities, which create within the society a proper climate for understanding the matters of national defense, LOK also trains various specialists for the needs of the military.

Among others, candidates for the non-commissioned officers schools of the basic military service are trained in special courses.

Until now, this training for the pre-conscription age youth was conducted in a form of four-month courses, only on non-work days. This had its pluses and minuses. In the face of increasing requirements for non-commissioned officers, the National Defense League, in agreement with the Ministry of National Defense, last month started experimental preparatory training under a barracks system.

The experience obtained indicates that this experiment is successful and will allow for better training of the youth for future service. The plenum of the LOK Main Board has recommended continuation of this method of training and expanding it wherever possibilities exist.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

DISSIDENTS DISAVOW SEMIOFFICIAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 4 Jul 80 p 1

[Text] The Polish dissidents, who were not invited to the regime-supported and therefore semiofficial conference on human rights that opened in Warsaw yesterday, stated that the conference will have no real significance or effect on the fate of the "socialist" countries' citizens who are fighting for their rights and freedom.

The 3-day conference was organized by the Strasbourg-based International Institute of Human Rights. It is financed by an American oil millionaire, Armand Hammer.

Two similar conferences were held previously--the first in 1978 in Norway and the second last year in Canada. They did not have any real effect in any communist country.

About 50 delegates from 32 countries arrived in Warsaw from the Soviet Union, USA, France, Great Britain, Israel etc. All are participating in this "party" individually, as private citizens and not as representatives of their governments.

Among those who came to the conference are: Irish Nobel Prize laureate Sean MacBrid, one of the originators of the Amnesty International; Lord Phillip Noel Baker, also a Nobel Prize laureate; Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs Willibad Pahr; Columbian Minister of Foreign Affairs Diego Uribe-Wargas; and former French premier Edgar Faure.

The Polish dissidents were not invited to the conference, although the regime delegates claim that the Polish People's Republic strictly observes all the human and citizens' rights and that every delegate can meet with every Polish citizen and safely talk with him about everything.

An unofficial representative of the Amnesty International in Warsaw, Adam Wojciechowski, told the foreign press correspondents that for the Polish dissidents this conference does not and will not have any meaning, and the spokesman for KSS-KOR, Jacek Kuron, emphasized its official character and explained that its resolutions will not in any way affect the fate of the people in the Soviet bloc.

POZNAN OBSERVES ANNIVERSARY OF WORKER PROTEST

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 3 Jul 80 p 4

[Text] The fourth anniversary of the worker protest in Ursus and Radom that is still vivid in the memory of people passed last week. Last Saturday was the 24th anniversary of the Poznan events of 1956. The young generation no longer remembers the first worker outburst which marked the end of the Stalinist era in Poland.

It is a good thing that the democratic opposition reminded the whole country about the historical meaning of the Poznan events which started on the so-called "bloody Thursday," 28 June. Today also, the inference from them should be drawn, especially by the party authorities and the security apparatus, which are provoking the mood of the people with constant repressions directed against the centers of independent political thought in the country.

Let us recall in short that the motto of the Poznan events was a call for "bread and freedom." Embittered by material injustice and bad treatment, the workers of the Cegielski plant and the railroad workshops came out on the streets to demonstrate their demands to the authorities. They were joined by workers from other plants and by the youth. Crowds numbering in the thousands immediately seized the Voivodship Militia Headquarters in the center of the city, the office of the People's Council, the jail at Mlynska Street and moved on the voivodship Security Office on Kochanowski Street, destroying on the way a device for jamming foreign radio broadcasts.

The security functionaries opened fire on the crowds. The first victims fell dead. The Poznan people started a siege of the Security Office (UB) and took over the whole city. Soldiers refused to shoot at the workers who seized two tanks. It was only on the second day that the Soviet tanks, which were called in, started to quell the Poznan workers' revolt.

The Poznan events electrified the entire country and evoked a ferment which was later conducive to the October happenings.

## Flowers on the Graves of the Victims

The Social Self-Defense Club of the Wielkopolska, Kujawy and Chelmno regions and the Young Poland Movement issued a special appeal "to the people of the city of Poznan." It recalls the anniversary of the June events and announces the organization of observances honoring the memory of those killed, who--as we read in the appeal--"by the sacrifice of their lives bore witness to the allegiance of the people of Wielkopolska to the ideals of a free, just and independent Poland," and paid with their blood for changes in October which were positive for the country.

Services for the souls of the victims (there were 53 dead and over 300 wounded) were held Saturday evening at the church of the Carmelite Fathers and Sunday at noon at the St. Jan Kanty Church. An announcement was made that there will be laying of wreaths and flowers on the graves of the victims at the cemeteries of the Citadel and J. Junikow, where the youngest victim, 14-year-old Romek Strzalkowski, killed by a security officer, is buried.

The appeal was circulated in Poznan during the week preceding the anniversary. The UB wanted to prevent demonstrations and in looking for leaflets (which they confiscated) conducted a series of searches among the activists of the democratic opposition. Some of them--for example, Edmund Chruscinski--were held in custody for 48 hours.

## Arrests and Searches

Also in the last week of June, the Lublin UB organized a concentrated action against a group of young Catholics centered around the independent quarterly SPOTKANIA. Thorough searches were conducted in the apartments of Janusz Bazydlo (editor of the Catholic Encyclopedia published by the Catholic University of Lublin), Anna Bazel, Wojciech Sanolinski, Jan Stecel and Zygmunt Koniecki. The first two were arrested.

After an 8-hour, especially malicious search was conducted in his apartment, Piotr Tomczak, an activist of the Movement for the Defense of Human Rights, was arrested and copies of independent publications were confiscated. The following people were detained after a search: Adam Cichoński, collaborator of SPOTKANIA, Tadeusz Zachars (participant in the hunger strike in a church in Lesna Podkown) and Tomasz Mickiewicz, from whose residence between 10 and 20 issues of an independent publication for school children titled UCZEN POLSKI (Polish Student) were taken. Most of these acts of repression were conducted by a UB captain, Janusz Michno, known for his brutal methods against the opposition activists.

## In Tarnow and Lodz

In an action directed against the independent press, the UB in Tarnow searched the apartment of Wacław Mojko, coeditor of WIADOMOSCI TARNOWSKIE. Mojko was held in custody for 48 hours. His father's apartment was also searched.

In Lodz the home of Tomasz Filipczak of the independent quarterly PIĘŚĆ was searched. Also searched was the apartment of Konrad Tarczowski, an assistant at Lodz University.

ROLE OF PARTY IN DEVELOPING WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE, in Romanian No. 2, Mar-Apr 80 pp 20-32

[Article by Gheorghe Ghimes]

(Text) A retrospective view of the road traveled by the Romanian people under the direct leadership of the Romanian Communist Party in the years since Romania's liberation from fascist domination brings to the forefront the conclusion that great achievements have been obtained in all areas of social life. One of the great resounding achievements in the "achievement of democracy" and full assertion of the well-known features and values of socialist democracy present today in all areas of society, in the daily life of the social-political organs as a whole and workers' collectives and of each citizen separately. Bringing out the indissoluble link between socialism and democracy in his report presented to the 11th party congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We are steadfastly proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist principle that the development of socialist democracy and the people's conscious creation of their own history are an objective need in building the new system. Only together with all the people will we assure the victory of the multilaterally developed socialist society and of communism on the Romanian soil."<sup>1</sup>

Commensurate with the multilateral development of all social and economic life and the movement along the path of building the new system, the Romanian Communist Party acted consistently to institute an appropriate system of organs of collective leadership, to use the appropriate forms and methods for the continually more substantial participation of the workers in the organization and leadership of the economic units. Implementation of the program for multilateral development of socialism and preparation of the conditions for the transition to communism in the future requires continual improvement in the organization and leadership of society and the contribution of the broad working masses to adopting decisions in all areas of social life.

The party's constant concerns in the direction of improving the organizational framework for the working masses' real and actual participation in the organization of the enterprises and industrial centrals also are found in initiating the new economic-financial mechanism, that is, the principles of worker self-management and self-leadership.

Just as any aspect of social life, worker self-leadership, of course, places growing demands on the researcher in the area of social-political sciences in exploring new processes and phenomena and in drawing theoretical and practical conclusions and understanding the relationship between the new forms adopted and the real, sociological phenomenon of social-economic life.

A first problem: introducing worker self-leadership--is it the expression of our party's original and creative policy or is it a transposition of experience from other countries? This is a surprising question. Yet it is being asked and the unanimous answer from the researchers is that worker self-leadership in Romania is the result of conclusions reached by our party on the basis of its own experience in creating the institutional system for socialist democracy and the results obtained by asserting the principles of socialist democracy in general and participational democracy in particular.

Yet we feel that the methods and forms utilized in the organization and leadership of social-economic life in other countries have not been and cannot be discounted in the current context of interference between states and nations and the impact of the scientific-technical revolution, which determines the introduction of new mechanisms and the methods for solving the problems confronting modern societies and implicitly worker participation in various ways in the activity of the economic organs and the decision-making act.

Thus, the study, generalization and use of progressive experience, critically taking it and adapting it to Romanian realities, through its own, original conclusions and solutions are a characteristic of our party's policy. In this regard we should note the point at which our party set out to introduce the principle of worker self-leadership. Only under the conditions of the new economic-financial mechanism, with its entire corollary of favorable conditions for all activity of the enterprises and industrial centrals does self-leadership have the indispensable condition for asserting its values as an offspring of the future communist public self-leadership.

We can say that the new economic-financial mechanism gives substance to worker self-leadership. The transition to the self-leadership system, institutionalization of the Congress of Workers' Councils and the creation of the National Council of Workers and other decisions and measures adopted in the last two years are a natural result of the Romanian experience, the continual process of development of socialist democracy, the need for increasing and actually exercising the leadership role of the working class and are an expression of the quantitative and qualitative democratic accumulations and raising worker democracy to a higher level which corresponds to the stage we are going through.

Assertion of the well-known qualities of participational democracy at a higher level and the transition to worker self-leadership contain in themselves the overall future view of our party. Worker self-leadership combines in the activity of the organization and leadership of social life today's

socialist forms with tomorrow's communist forms and it achieves an osmosis between the two phases of the new system. In the process of the transition to communism, as is mentioned in the Program of the Romanian Communist Party, "society organs will exist with the mission of organizing, leading and planning production and all social activity and of assuring the appropriate distribution of the principles of communism."<sup>2</sup>

Worker self-leadership, as conceived of by our party, contains and develops the seeds for this kind of organization.

The development of the newly institutionalized forms of self-management and self-leadership and increase in the role and duties of the general meetings and workers councils will be one of the main directions of our party's action in the general context of development of socialist democracy. From here we have the requirement for steadfast improvement in the institutional mechanism of participational democracy, the need for increasing competence and ethical behavior of the leadership factors and improvement in the working methods and style of the collective leadership organs.

The newness of the phenomenon and particular nature of its implementation in our country's social-economic life directly raises another problem: acceptance of the self-leadership concept. In the theory and practice of the problems of democracy and the systems, principles and methods of the political leadership of society, the concepts of self-leadership and self-management are more and more frequent.\* Generally, the options are in two directions: the first, which accepts and acts to introduce the system of self-leadership, and the second, which supports the thesis according to which, through the very nature of the social system, workers in socialism really participate in the leadership of social-economic life through established institutional mechanisms.

It is clear that Yugoslavia, where the process of achieving socialist self-leadership is seeing a number of specific particular features, has the most vast experience, without, however, being a model. Self-leadership in Yugoslavia has its roots in the national liberation committees from the time of the resistance, when they acted "as forms of self-leadership of the new people's power," while in the process of their evolution until today they are felt to be "an integral system of political and social-economic relations," which are based on "establishment of the delegational principle in all areas of social decision making."<sup>3</sup> In this particular area some experience and achievements also are seen in Poland, where self-leadership is conceived as "a main form for coparticipation of the working class in the leadership of the enterprises" and efforts are being made to broaden worker self-leadership in all state economic units for the purpose of continually strengthening and asserting the working class role in society.

Of course, an analysis of the phenomenon could be broadened. However, what is needed as a conclusion is the existence of similarities between the socialist countries as well as differences in defining the concept, particularly the mechanism for its operation and efficiency. Various options are

expressed and specific methods are utilized as an expression of the concern of the parties and leadership organs in the particular countries and the particular national features and specific conditions in each state.

Some authors feel that self-leadership is a category of economics, both as a form of organization and leadership as well as as a method in social-economic activity. Proceeding from this view, various analogies and similarities are made with other categories of the economic-financial mechanism simultaneously with the introduction of these new regulations. Without entering into polemics, we feel it is enough to stress that the very application of the new economic-financial mechanism is not and cannot be seen as a purely technical or strictly economic problem but it is a political strategy with profound social-economic implications. Self-leadership is an organic, invariable aspect of democracy while democracy above all is a category of policy, a form of political organization of society as a total social system. In the total policy of our party self-leadership is treated in the broad context of the problems of democracy and leading role of the working class in society.

Proceeding from this consideration, worker self-leadership in our acceptance is an authentic form for expressing direct democracy and the conscious participation of workers in the decision-making act; it involves the organization and leadership of social-economic activity of the enterprises from within the collective leadership organs through which the workers consciously and directly assume their commitment and responsibility.

The essence of self-leadership is expressed by the totality of duties and responsibilities deliberately assumed by each worker and by the entire collective in the section, factory and enterprise to organize, lead, manage and develop the national wealth entrusted to it. The major significance of self-leadership is crowning of the process of the transition from unipersonal leadership of the enterprise director with the entire range of consequences to the institutionalization and generalization of the principle of work and collective leadership in all areas and links of social-economic activity.

The qualitatively new, revolutionary substance of worker self-leadership lies in the fact that workers now actually are becoming the direct and permanent administrators of the means of production and that the entire collective and each worker separately--as owner and producer--must think, decide and take action as a good manager and direct administrator of the portion of the national wealth entrusted to him by society.

The result of this substance is the specific nature of worker self-leadership in Romania and its particular features compared with the self-leadership system in the other socialist countries, which results organically from the content of the Program of the Romanian Communist Party to build socialism, continually deepen and broaden socialist democracy, from the need to continually increase and assert the leading role of the working class in society.

Our party proceeds from the idea that, under the conditions where the working class is the leading one and has become the majority in society, it is natural and necessary for it to hold leadership positions in social life and participate in carrying out the leadership of the economic units not only through representatives and through those to whom it gives the mandate, but, directly, on the basis of the principles of self-management and worker self-leadership. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes, "We conceive of the working class not as a mass called on only to carry out decisions but as a leading class, a class aware of its historic role. That is how the classics of Marxism-Leninism conceived of it and it cannot be conceived of otherwise. One cannot speak of socialism if we do not take measures so that the working class, in whose name it governs, truly fulfills its leading role and participates in governing of society."<sup>5</sup>

In our party's view, the basic problem for self-leadership, self-management is the responsibility of the collective leadership organs and all workers in each economic unit for the good organization and development of the production process so that repayment of the expenses made by society can be assured through its own activity. On the other hand, just as the new system is built by people and for people and the purpose of all social-economic activity is to satisfy man's material and spiritual needs, the solution to problems regarding the workers' working and living conditions is also a problem of self-leadership. It is precisely in this unity of its functions that the role and importance of the principle of worker self-leadership lie. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the Congress of Workers' Councils, "Actually there should be no aspect of their life (of the economic units--editor's note), including the social aspect, which is not in the attention of the workers' collective leadership organs and which is not solved jointly by the workers. This expresses their broader participation in the leadership and development of workers self-leadership."<sup>6</sup>

Of course, in the end, the viability of the concept and practice of self-leadership has efficiency as its basic criterion and the results of the choice, that is, if the workers in the particular unit decide--in their totality and knowing the case--the overall problems connected with the enterprise's existence, function and profitability. Worker self-leadership necessarily means that in each economic unit--and within it up to the level of the factory, section and shop--the worker collective should really bear direct responsibility for the material resources entrusted to it by society and should produce more, better and with the lowest possible costs so that the particular enterprise covers production expenses and the circulation of its own incomes obtains profits, in this way making a higher contribution to increasing the national wealth."

In our party's concept, socialist democracy is the democracy of responsibility of the entire collective and each citizen for the country's present and future. All the collective leadership organs are working organisms in this acceptance, forms for developing worker self-leadership and for demonstrating collective responsibility for the sensible management and administration of the material and financial resources entrusted to them. Stressing the responsibility

belonging to the workers' collectives in the economic units in the context of introducing the new economic-financial mechanism and the system of worker self-management and self-leadership, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stressed: " The new economic mechanism we adopted last March--and which is being applied this year throughout the economy--seeks precisely to raise the responsibility of each workers' collective for solving the complex problems of economic development. Worker self-leadership and self-management are not a general slogan; this means strengthening each workers' collective to achieve highly technical, high-quality production with minimum expense and with high economic efficiency. Each workers' council, the general meetings and the collectives bear direct responsibility for the way in which the resources entrusted to them are managed."<sup>8</sup>

Introduction of the self-leadership system in the enterprises and industrial centrals marks the departure point, the birth of self-leadership at the level of the society as a specific means of achieving public self-leadership in communism in the future. "The economic and social units will play an increasingly important role in organizing production activity as well as in satisfying the particular collectives' requirements. They will carry out their activity democratically, independently, in the spirit of true communist self-leadership."<sup>9</sup>

The introduction and gradual broadening of the self-leadership system poses for the researcher the problem of the relationship between worker self-leadership and democratic centralism. Having the state combine centralized leadership of all economic activity with the operational independence of the industrial units, an expression of the principle of democratic centralism, is of a dynamic nature. Optimization of the relationship between centralism and democracy has recorded an important stage through the introduction and generalization of the new economic-financial mechanism and the principle of worker self-leadership.

The total agreement between the two concepts and the fact that worker self-leadership is the expression of the application of the requirements of the principle of democratic centralism and development of the democratic aspect of it is unanimously brought out. Subscribing to the correctness of this conclusion, we still cannot omit another aspect: the relationship between the theoretical level, of principle of the phenomenon in discussion, and the real process for carrying it out.

Institutionalization of the principle of collective work and leadership and creation of the collective organs in the enterprises and industrial centrals--that is, the general meeting and the workers council, respectively--and the regulations on the role, competence and their duties as established by Law No 11/1971 and decisions of the Congress of Workers Councils--among these we mention the rise in the number of workers in the composition of the workers councils, better representation of the production sections in the collective leadership organs, giving the party organization secretary the job of president of the workers council--are all links in the totality of measures our party has adopted to broaden the democratic aspect of the principle of

democratic centralism with a view to involving the worker element and democratic methods more deeply in adopting and implementing the leadership act. In the end, self-leadership and self-management are the expression of the party's consistent policy to introduce new, evolved forms in social-economic life, to deepen worker democracy and to combine centralism with democracy.

The constant concerns in recent years with continually developing and asserting the democratic aspect and raising independence and the introduction of worker self-leadership as well as those to reduce and eliminate the phenomena of excessive centralism and bureaucracy are finding the best field for continual assertion in the new economic-financial mechanism and the system of worker self-leadership and self-management more than ever before. Even Marx hinted that continually new political goals and, implicitly, new leadership methods would appear under the conditions of socialism and that broadening of the forms for the producers' direct participation in working out decisions would be the efficient means of eliminating bureaucratic phenomena.

Thus we have the need for a study and knowledge of specific and practical aspects involved in the introduction and generalization of new principles in the organization and leadership of the enterprises and industrial centrals. Sociological research undertaken at some economic units leads to findings and conclusions which bring out many aspects of the dialectical relationship between centralism and self-leadership, which permanently are in the attention of the collective leadership organs and the party organs in enterprises and industrial centrals.

The relationship between the competence and responsibility of the collective leadership organs in the economic units and the decisions of the central organs of state power in establishing the goals of the single national plan for social-economic development which, adopted by the Grand National Assembly,<sup>10</sup> are becoming an obligatory law in the task of the economic units. In the current practice of economic units there are situations where some production tasks, particularly supplementary ones, at the section and factory level do not correspond totally with those established at the enterprise level and, in particular, with the commitments assumed by its leadership for the competition launched for the current year. There are cases where these disparities are kept without the units "below," the shop, the section and even the factory knowing the overall obligations assumed and having a real basis for all their social-economic activity. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We know that we still have some units which do not know at the beginning of the year what they will produce, where they will sell what they produce and they have not order the necessary materials and they start their economic activity by chance. Under the conditions of a planned economy, generally of a modern economy, when technical progress is so fast and when the production of technical products is a need for a country's high development rate and for increasing international competitiveness, such an organization of production is totally inadmissible."<sup>10</sup>

The correlation between self-leadership and self-management, on one hand, and economic efficiency and profitability for the enterprise on the other. During the general meetings in January-February 1979 at some industrial enterprises the result from the half-yearly reports as well as discussions which followed was that the lack of competitiveness of products on the domestic market and, in particular, on the foreign market, the cancellation of contracts for reasons of quality, the failure to fulfill some important indicators of the enterprise's plan may create serious difficulties for the long-range development of the particular units with negative consequences for the entire national economy and for fulfilling the indicators for increasing the national income and raising the workers' material well-being. In this regard the permanent indications included in the speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the general meeting of workers from the 23 August Enterprise in Bucharest in February are imperative: "Let us solidly analyze what is being produced now and what should be produced in the future. Of course, it is not a shame for people to get old, but in technology aging becomes a brake on development. We must move decisively to renovate production! The renovation of production and the fast introduction of new technologies into manufacture are one of the basic requirements for rapid progress not only in machine construction but throughout the national economy."<sup>1</sup>

Of course, the conclusion is that, under the conditions of introducing self-management and self-leadership, the workers assume all the responsibility and they must decide how to better administer and lead in order to be able to produce quality products of high competitiveness, while the enterprise should not await subsidies, credits and endowments from the state budget.

Sometimes we note a gap between open and courageous discussion in a worker's spirit and full democracy and between workers' participation in the general meetings from the section level and the way that the leadership factors are receptive and, in some cases, they do not send critical notes, suggestions and proposals raised by the workers to the level of the enterprise and central leadership.

We have a true measure of the achievement of democracy precisely here, in the section and the shops, where the plant's life pulsates, where the most problems appear and are confronted, including dissonant notes, "contradictions" between centralism and democracy we could say; in order for it to be real and efficient, all the leadership factors in the enterprise must take action in the same democratic spirit.

There still is somewhat of a dose of a holiday spirit at the level of the collective leadership organs, particularly in the organization and occurrence of the workers' general meetings by enterprise. In order to eliminate these demonstrations, as the party and its secretary general ask, it is necessary to orient the discussions in a worker's, revolutionary spirit so that they express in an authentic way the role and duties conferred by law on the general meetings as a supreme forum of collective leadership for all social and economic activity and, implicitly, the values of worker self-leadership.

A relatively reduced participation has been found at some general meetings of enterprises or centrals and at regular meetings of the workers' councils in the discussions from the workers' delegates or workers' representatives in the councils.

Such situations, intentionally or not, lead to the transformation of the particular collective leadership organ of a deliberative nature into a leadership instrument with a consultative role, where the last word belongs to the president of the workers' council or the executive bureau. The methods and forms of collective leadership established by the regulations in effect, determined by the broad framework of the principle of having the people govern society, on one hand demonstrates the rejection of such practices from leadership activity and, on the other, the fact that the leadership job as a member of a collective leadership organ is not a personal privilege but is a political mandate over social control of those who have been invested for a certain period. Here lies the superiority of the principle of work and collective leadership over unipersonal leadership which was rejected years ago and here lie the new qualities and values of having the mass of workers choose the cadres which form the collective leadership organ and, in the end, this is the new, revolutionary substances of worker self-leadership.

An important contribution in the current practice of these organs is to be made by the specialist cadres outside the enterprises; in conformity with the law they belong to the workers' council, in a certain proportion, with the agreement of the leadership of the units they are part of. Under the conditions of interdependence and increasingly closer cooperation between the various units and economic branches and integration of research and educational activity with production, collaboration with the specialists outside the enterprise and their contribution to the discussion and adoption of the best decisions can only have positive results.

Optimum use of the democratic institutional framework and all the principles and methods means the broad promotion of consultations and open discussion with the people only for social-economic problems, the stimulation of criticism and self-criticism, the opinion of each worker and cultivation of combativeness toward any violation of democratic principles and standards. Under the conditions where these principles are not respected, criticism from below does not find the necessary audience, while the workers' proposals and notes are not taken into consideration, the democratic institutional system, no matter how good it is, is actually blocked, the qualities of self-leadership cannot develop and the workers' awareness and action are affected considerably. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "It is necessary that we not forget what we wrote in the party program, that criticism and self-criticism are a main form for analyzing work, which assures the dynamic development of our society. Without showing the mistakes and shortcomings, without a critical and self-critical attitude toward them, we cannot have the guarantee that action is being taken to eliminate them. Let us give up the concept of not criticizing in order not to upset someone. On the contrary, let us upset the ones who are not doing their duty as much as possible. If we do not upset them, we harm the interests of socialist construction and the interests of the working class and our people."<sup>12</sup>

Our conclusion is that of the need for a harmonious combination between the responsibility of the leadership factors, authority, competence and a democratic nature which must characterize the leader's job, with initiative from below, with the collective experience of the masses, with the need for incentives of all kinds for worker participation and that of their representatives in the decision-making act. Only in this way is a sensible application of the demands of the principle of democratic centralism actually demonstrated.

Of course, in order to assure united and converging leadership of all social-economic activity in the direction of fulfilling the basic goals of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, carrying out of the decision-making right of the collective leadership organs is bounded by the demands of the basic principle of the organization and leadership of economic and state life--democratic centralism. Respect for this principle, however, is not counterposed but, on the contrary, includes as an inseparable component the new duties of self-leadership, the broader and broader utilization of the virtues of worker democracy in working out the decision-making act together with the obligation to fulfill the plan tasks and party and state decisions. In other words, worker self-leadership actually is an evolved, superior form of understanding and applying democratic centralism on whose basis the introduction and generalization of the new economic-financial mechanism are supported. "Measures to improve leadership and planning proceed from the principle of combining united direction on the basis of the single national plan of the activity of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society with the economic-financial independence of the administrative and production units and with the principle of worker self-leadership and enterprise self-management. I wish to stress with all clarity that it is necessary for us to assure the leadership of all social-economic activity on the basis both of the principle of democratic centralism, decisively eliminating excessive and rigid centralism, as well as on the basis of the principle of self-leadership, which must lead to an increase in responsibility, to decision-making power and action of the local organs, centrals and enterprises, also, however, watching for and taking action to eliminate any anarchical tendencies and local patriotism, as we say, to violate the laws and obligatory decisions for all party and state organs and for all citizens of the country."<sup>13</sup>

The decisions of the RCP Central Committee Plenum of 23 March 1978 also aid this goal as well as the new legal regulations such as, for example, that same year's adoption of Law No 5 on the Organization and Leadership of Socialist State Units. These important party and state documents put together a series of political, legal and organizational regulations and measures which aim at eliminating demonstrations of excessive centralism and bureaucratism, of rigid forms and methods of leadership and of phenomena of routine and conservatism through institutionalization of the principles of worker self-leadership and self-management.

Another problem directly resulting from the practice of the activity of the collective leadership organs in the enterprises regards the relationship between the organizational and legislative framework created for affirmation

of participational democracy and its effectiveness in the actual activity of the collective leadership organs. The organisational framework, "unique in its way," as our party documents evaluate it, the vast legislation worked out in this matter, continual improvement in the methods and forms for organization and leadership of social-economic life, broader and broader concern with training and providing advanced training for the members elected to the workers' council gradually and more and more have brought the accumulation of positive experience with better and better results in the nearly eight years of activity of the collective organs in the economic units.

The institutional framework is not utilized in itself and it is not a goal in itself. There is a need for optimum use of it through specific and practical action for the conscious participation of worker personnel in the efficient handling of it. Total achievement of the principles of self-management and self-leadership necessarily involves raising the working methods and style of the collective leadership organs in enterprises and industrial centrals to a higher level.

However, from the findings discovered in the practice of these organs, something also confirmed by other researchers, we have some lack of agreement between the existing framework and the results. Thus, we encounter practices and methods which differ from one enterprise to another and from one section to another with regard to the methods for organizing and carrying out the general meetings and regular gatherings of the collective leadership organs, differences which are evident in their style of work and, implicitly, a difference in efficiency. In our opinion, we find the explanation, among other things, also in the nonexistence of a regulation of norms and methodological criteria which would guide the activity of the competent factors in organizing and carrying out the general meetings and meetings of the workers' councils as well as in the lack of a unified and permanent system for training the members of the workers' councils.

For that reason, the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee on 26 October 1978 adopted the decision on working out a regulation for the operation of the workers' councils which specifies the duties belonging to their members as well as a unified program for the improved training of the presidents of the workers' councils and workers' representatives from these organs. Implementation of these decisions will lead to an improvement in the activity of the collective leadership organs and their style of work and will permit some specific problems raised by the practice of the leadership organs to be solved.

Surely, the activity of the collective leadership organs in the economic units can have better and more efficient operations under conditions of a continually improving methods. Regardless of the area of activity and the sphere of competence and strategy of development, there is an art of organizing and carrying out the activity of these collective organs, a series of methods and forms of general applicability, a style of work with scientific strictness which must be mastered and applied in all cases with a view to assuring the maximum efficiency of the institutional system.

Thus, the compilation and application of the regulations provided, the product of generalizing the experience accumulated in the practice of the institutional mechanism, will contribute to increasing the competence of the leadership cadres as well as the degree of training and responsibility of the workers' representatives in these organs and, implicitly, the effectiveness of their participation in the discussion and adoption of decisions. In addition, an appreciable volume of time will be saved, the scientific organization of leadership activity will be broadened and there will be a considerable rise in the effectiveness of discussion and of adopting decisions as well as control activity.

The regulations on the methods for organizing and carrying out the activity of the collective leadership organs and improving the training of their members are intended to contribute to improving the activity of all members of the leadership organs in the direction of preparing, discussing and adopting decisions, sensibly combining activity and responsibility of the collective organ with individual work and responsibility, the preparation and strict development of the meetings of the organs in the institutional system and efficient finalization of the decisions adopted, following up on and solving the requests, suggestions and proposals of the workers, broader and broader involvement and guidance of the public organs of the collective leadership organs, more efficient use of the cadres of specialists and research cadres in the area of sociology, psychology and so forth in the research and documentation activity, permanent rise in the degree of professional training and the political and cultural level of the members of the collective leadership organs, strict respect for the principle of collective work and leadership and other principles of socialist democracy, achieving of a perfect cooperation of the collective leadership organs with the party committees and the working masses' organizations and so forth.

One of the basic problems of worker self-leadership and of optimum achievement of participational democracy is the composition of the collective leadership organs, the way they are elected, fulfillment of the duties given by law, and checking on their activity. The problem is regulated by special normative acts and all along some improvements have been made on the basis of the decisions adopted by the RCP Central Committee Plenum of March 1978.

The condition for a superior selection of those elected to the workers' councils correlated with concern for improving training with a view to achieving a deliberative participation in the decision-making process are several of the major conditions for optimum achievement of the requirements of the new economic-financial mechanism and the principles of self-leadership and self-management.

We know the requirement placed by our party's leadership regarding the creation of the optimum framework so that the 'u' representatives carry out activity so that they are present for the act, so that they are known more and more and followed by the masses who have elected them, so that they do not have a figurative presence in the institutionalized organs but an active, participational presence. Only in this way do the workers

really fulfill their quality as holders of political power, owners of the means of production, active and aware creators of their own socialist history.

The evolutional process of the development of democracy in the years of building and consolidating the new system is crowned by the introduction of the principles of self-management and worker self-leadership, a point which raises democratism of our social and state system to a higher level. The Romanian Communist Party's constant concern with improving the entire institutional mechanism of socialist democracy, the principles for organization and leadership of social-economic life and the forms and methods for the direct participation of workers in the leadership of the economic units and social institutions are the guarantee for the working people's governing society and directing Romania along the road of creating multilaterally developed socialist society and preparing the conditions for the transition to communism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report Presented to the 12th Romanian Communist Party Congress," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1974, p 81.
2. "The RCP Program for Creating the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Directing Romania Toward Communism," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1975, p 172.

\* It is a fact that problem of democracy is being posed more and more in various forms--participation, a concept organically correlated with other concepts: "association," "management," "self-management," "self-leadership," and so forth. In this regard it is maintained that basic democratic revendication of a historical point is precisely the workers' participation in economic management and that in the modern capitalist society the workers are provided with material incentives and, implicitly, they participate in specific forms in self-management and they coparticipate in producing capital and they are equal participants in the administrative councils and the decision-making act.

Without disputing that the working class has had achievements in the right to participate in the administration of the enterprises, yet the effect of their indirect participation in the decision-making act remains actually insignificant. The fact is clear that the general meeting of stockholders and the administrative council of stock companies are collective organs within which new means are being used and developed for the group decision-making process; however, these collective mechanisms have as their action and goal the preparation of the decision-making act in favor of the employer's interests and the capitalist owners.

Basically, the general orientation in the problem of participation in capitalist society is not broadening the sphere of "collective decisions" but, on the contrary, the preparation and application of the decisions adopted by the executive leaders under better conditions. The use of the team for leadership work in the capitalist enterprise above all expresses the concept according to which the main quality of a firm's leader lies in knowing how to get the employees to work as intensely and efficiently as possible for the employer (V. Nicolau, D. Cicur, "Role of the Working Class in the Institutional Mechanism of Romania" in ERA "SOCIALISTA No 16/1977). For that reason, the problem of participation is the field where opposite trends, interests and concepts meet, which are specific to the two antagonistic classes. For the working class, for the communist parties, participation and self-leadership are a desire, one of the main claims in the struggle for democracy and socialism. In this context are included goals such as extending the workers' participation in the enterprise leadership, increasing the number of mandates in the organs of local administration, as component elements in the general struggle to renew democracy.

3. V. Nicolau, D. Cicur, op. cit.
4. Edward Gierek, "Report Presented to the National Meeting of Workers' Representatives" in SCINTEIA, 14 July 1978.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Working Meeting with the Party Aktiv From the Ideological Front" in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 6, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1972, p 216.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Congress of Workers' Councils" in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 14, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1977, p 588.
7. Z. Folt, C. Ionita, "To a New Quality Through Worker Self-leadership" in REVISTA ECONOMICA No 6/1979.
8. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the General Meeting of Workers from the 23 August Enterprise in the Capital," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1979, p 12.
9. "Program of the Romanian Communist Party To Create the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Direct Romania Toward Communism," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1975, p 172.
10. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the RCP CC Plenum of 23 March 1978" in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 15, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1978, pp 595-596.
11. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the General Meeting of Workers From the 23 August Enterprise in the Capital," Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1979, pp 9-11.

17. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the RCP CC Plenum of 28-29 June 1977" in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 14, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1977, pp 518-519.

18. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the RCP CC Plenum of 23 March 1978" in "Romania on the Road To Building the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 15, Political Publishers, Bucharest, 1978, pp 591-592.

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

REPORT OF PIRVULESCU DEATH--From Romania we have received some news which cannot be verified, that Constantin Pirvulescu, former secretary of the Romanian Communist Party who, at the 12th RCP Congress, accused Ceausescu of "putting his personal interests above the interests of the country and of having an anti-democratic attitude," died and was buried in Cringasi Cemetery with only his family present. The family was not allowed to publish his death notice. Constantin Pirvulescu was 84 years old and was removed from the Congress by force by the Securitate and confined to the emergency hospital and said to be suffering from a heart attack. [Excerpts] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Jul 80 p 11]

DISSIDENT IN GALATI PENITENTIARY--Gheorghe Brasoveanu, one of the co-founders of the Free Trade Unions of Romania, who was arrested at the beginning of 1979 and hospitalized in the Jilava psychiatric asylum, has been transferred to the Central Penitentiary in Galati where he is in total isolation. [Excerpts] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Jul 80 p 11]

DEATH OF DISSIDENT--We wrote about the case of the worker Vasile Paraschiv when he was on a tourist visit to Paris. When he returned to Romania, he took part in the establishment of the free trade union movement. When the members of this union were imprisoned, he, too, was arrested and confined to the psychiatric asylum in Voila Campina in 1979. Recent news from Romania states that he died in this asylum and that not even his family was notified. He was cremated in Voila. This news came from a number of sources but could not be verified. [Text] [Paris BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Jul 80 p 3]

BUCHAREST MAYOR IN GREECE--Yiannis Rallis, prime minister of Greece, has received Gheorghe Pana, general mayor of Bucharest, who is on a visit in Greece. A friendly message and best wishes was extended to Konstantinos Karamanlis, president of the Hellenic Republic, on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Congratulations were also extended to the Greek Prime Minister for his election to that position, together with wishes for successes and prosperity to the friendly Greek people. Prime Minister Rallis asked the Romanian guest to convey feelings of friendship and particular esteem to President Konstantinos Karamanlis on behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people. During the ensuing talk, the Greek prime minister expressed words of high appreciation for the activity carried out by the Romanian president at an international level for further developing the positive Romanian-Greek relations and for peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. Yiannis Rallis also expressed the Greek Government's determination to expand cooperation with Romania in the international arena so as to surmount the current difficulties and to return to an atmosphere of trust, cooperation among people and an atmosphere of detente and peace. [Text] [A1091325 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 80]

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Jun 80 p 12

(Article by Viktor Meier: "Yugoslavia Finds Reality," Central Issue Is the Economy")

[Text] Ljubljana, June 1980--Two symbols of the reality of today's Yugoslavia are located near one another in Ljubljana: the park containing the grave of Edvard Kardelj, ideological father of the system of "self-administration," and a modern highrise building across the street, "Ljubljanska Banka," probably the country's most renowned and solid financial institution. Since the early 1950s Kardelj sought a synthesis of party rule and democracy. He believed he had found it in the complex system termed "self-administration" in today's Yugoslavia, the ideological basis of which is the constitution of 1974. It would be unfair to say that Kardelj was not successful. He did not, however, manage the impossible, but merely came close in some aspects--and this was effected by obscuring the entire set of problems within a confusing and nebulous mammoth structure the main characteristics of which, it seems, is the continuus holding of conferences. Someone suggested that one of the purposes of "Ljubljanska Banka" next door was to finance all this, short of paying for it. It would eventually be paid for by Yugoslavia's economy at large.

At present the problem is an extremely acute one. "Ljubljanska Banka" concedes that the entire system is untried and expensive due to its "pioneer character." The bank says that inherent in the system are burdens for the Yugoslav companies which are unknown in the West: that the costs of "directing a society" are much higher compared to the West. This, it says, has been the main cause of excessive prices and inadequate export incentives, i.e. for the conditions which were sought to be corrected by a massive devaluation. Naturally, the problem is not solved by manipulating the rate of exchange--it is concealed, instead. This problem, plus the problem of productivity, is bound to arise again after some time. In principle, it is similar to inflation: in Yugoslavia inflation has always solved momentary political and economic bottlenecks, but eventually the same fundamental issues had to be faced over and over again.

The Yugoslavs know that certain burdens have become too heavy under present circumstances. Resentment towards the bureaucracy, which, by the way, is one of the major job sources for women, is growing. The federal bureaucracy in Belgrade, which is sometimes the target for "negative cases" which the republics try to get rid of has a particularly negative reputation. Also apparent is a growing contradiction as to the functions of the bureaucracy and the economy: While the economy is under pressure due to the situation and has to revert more and more to the merit principle, this principle remains as neglected in bureaucracy as it has always been. Soon regulations are to be issued regarding a reduction of the cost of representation incurred by the state, for instance with regard to the conveyance of Tito's state residences. Brioni, so it goes, is to be opened up to tourism.

There are strong voices even from the party in favor of a more pragmatic approach towards the private sector, including private agriculture. A strong dogmatic wing, however, embodied by Croatian Central Committee Secretary Balic who, by the way, is a Serb from Croatia, is against any type of rapprochement. The private sector would not only be important to improve the supplies to the population, but also to absorb labor. While it is true that the majority of the supply problems which are presently aggravating the Yugoslavs' daily lives are caused by a shortage of foreign exchange, there are other problems which could be solved internally, including those which the system can be made directly responsible for. In some "sensitive" places, e.g. Zagreb, political fears have been voiced in view of the dissatisfaction with the economy.

The devaluation has indeed shown that post-Tito Yugoslavia is capable of acting even when it comes to delicate matters. The impulses, particularly in economic matters, show a liberal tendency, even though now a system of price controls is to be imposed again due to the devaluation. Yugoslavia's economic situation in general is not so bad and can definitely stand a comparison with other countries; a 4-percent growth, as is planned according to the new resolution of the country's development, is quite a respectable figure in Europe.

On the political scene, the only nervousness is being exhibited in some police circles at present. The main emphasis seems to be on cutting off all ties between emigrants living abroad and people in Yugoslavia. At present a trial is taking place in Zagreb against a group of people accused of contact with emigrants and even of gun-running. Since in Croatia the police, the core of which is Serbian, by the way, act more strangely in various respects than the police of other republics, it is hard to say what is behind such accusations. It seems symptomatic that so far only committed dogmatists of the Croatian party have tried to make a political issue of the alleged infiltration attempts by emigrants. For the FRG it is important to note that there have been attempts on the lives of former Yugoslavs living in Germany now, which have remained unsolved. Approximately 2 years ago Yugoslav Minister of the Interior Herljevic was very frankly told in

Bonn that no "direct" Yugoslav political activities whatsoever would be tolerated on FRG soil. There are people who believe that such a warning should be reiterated.

The churches have qualified as a state-maintaining element by their attitude throughout Tito's illness and death and, last but not least, by their bell-ringing the day he was buried and the masses they celebrated "to the benefit of the fatherland." It seems that the regime has to take this into account.

When U.S. President Carter makes his appearance in Belgrade the last week of June, he will encounter a country which is slowly emerging from the self-woven nimbus of uniqueness and coming back to its actual proportions. The fact that now the economy and the economic policy have attained central importance in total contrast to the Tito tradition is one sign of this development. The Tito cult still exists. "Before the war we had a king as a symbol of integration, then we had Tito, and now we have the Tito cult," we are told by someone who is convinced that Yugoslavia will never get along without a prominent personality. Others, in turn, seem fascinated and flattered by the prospect of becoming a type of Switzerland, where personalities are subdued by the collective and the change in power is effected in an orderly fashion. So far it has not been decided which way Yugoslavia will go. It has two weaknesses, in Croatia and in the Kosovo; here issues of nationality have greater weight than any other place. But the country will have time to adapt to the new order. The Soviet Union is preoccupied with Afghanistan. While Belgrade's activities in the area of foreign politics within the movement of the nonaligned countries are continued, they have been very much contained and do not show such strong impulses as before. This, also, could be anticipated. In the long run, no country can live beyond its means.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### POLEMICS REGARDING CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS DESCRIBED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 May 80 p 5

[Article by Ratimir Petkovic: "What Is Being Changed in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] In order to carry out Tito's initiative concerning the advancement of collective labor, decisionmaking and responsibility at the federation level, it will be necessary to change some constitutional regulations. The task of formulating constitutional resolutions has been given by the Federal Chamber, at the suggestion of the Presidency of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], to the Commission of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia for Constitutional Problems, which has been examining a preliminary text of the draft of the amendments to the constitution of the SFRY.

These amendments have been composed by the working group of the commission. The basic principles of essential constitutional regulations are not the concern of this group, but it is striving to remove existing difficulties in the present constitutional regulations to enable the consistent implementation and advancement of collective labor, decisionmaking and responsibility. In other words, a restrictive attitude has been adopted with regard to constitutional changes, which means that from a practical point of view we have intervened only where it was necessary.

#### Principles of Collective Labor, Decisionmaking and Responsibility

The principles of collective labor, decisionmaking and responsibility are being worked out in the first amendment, which indeed complements the unitary basis of the sociopolitical system. The first amendment states that the organization, structure and manner of the work of the collective organs of authority and self-management are arranged so as to insure the realization of collective labor, decisionmaking and responsibility and the equality of the members of the organs in the realization of their rights, duties and responsibilities. Each member of a collective organ is personally responsible for his own work in accordance with both his rights and duties, together with the other members, for the sake of the work and the decisions of the organ. The third paragraph of the first amendment states that each

of these members who is authorized to perform certain duties and assignments and to participate in the work of other bodies is obliged to act in accordance with the principles of the delegate system and the powers given. This amendment is formulated so that the whole of the work of these organs on the basis of the principles of collective labor and decisionmaking is encompassed by it. Discussions carried out by the commission have confirmed that the general principle of a good constitutional basis for the implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative is formulated in this way.

In a lively and polemic discussion which lasted nearly 10 hours and which is still not at an end, as the session of the commission will be continued, many proposals and suggestions for a different formulation of this amendment were given, but in all initiatives, efforts have been directed at a more definite and pronounced expression of the idea of the functioning of these organs within the unified structure of the system of delegate relations. With regard to the numerous proposals, the working group has been assigned the task of proposing a definitive version of the first amendment on the basis of the suggestions which have been brought forth.

#### The Length of the Mandate

Considerably greater polemics have taken place on the second amendment, which is concerned with the length of the mandate for elected and appointed officials. The amendment states that they are to be elected or appointed for a period of up to 4 years, which differs from the existing Article 151 of the constitution, which stipulates that they are to be placed in these functions for a period of 4 years. The essential difference is really between the expressions "up to" and "of" because the first variant stipulates the maximum limit for the performance of one's functions, and this might be shortened, for example, by 1 or 2 years, but it will be at the most 4 years, while the existing ruling sets the lower limit of 4 years. It is necessary to replace Article 151 with this amendment. The greatest polemics have taken place over whether we should permit the republics and provinces with their own constitutions, or communities with their own statutes, to be free to determine for themselves how long, within the permissible period of 4 years, the performance of some functions will actually last. Those who support the idea, which is found in the amendment, are for offering such possibilities to the republics, provinces, and communities, which would then be permitted to decide for themselves, according to the specific case, whether to introduce a 1-year, 2-year, or 4-year mandate for individual functions. The advocates of the opposing view think that all sociopolitical communities should uniformly establish the length of the mandate and limitations on the renewal of the term. They feel that the first choice deviates from the uniform basis of the sociopolitical system, while the advocates of the first solution think that permitting the possibility of a different ruling on mandate length does not injure this basis. The sense of the amendment is to establish a general principle with respect to the length of the mandate and to allow republics, provinces, and communities to move more freely within this limit.

The advocates of the other alternative, or the uniform approach, feel that the matter here is not exclusively about the duration of the mandate, but about the element of a uniform political system in the country. However, most of the participants do not think that the proposed alternatives affect the fundamental unity of the political system.

References to the resolutions of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia of June of last year were unavoidable in the discussion. Some, the advocates of the decision provided for in the amendment, think that the resolutions should be understood as having a political orientation, while others think that one must look for specific constitutional decisions in them.

It is important, however, regardless of the final content of the second amendment, that the question of unity concerning the duration of the mandate can be solved, and in another way, above all with consideration of political positions together with mutual consultation with the republics and provinces.

#### **The Mandate of the President of the Federal Assembly**

Differences in opinions concerning the manner of regulating questions of the length of the mandate will demand additional consultation.

In contrast to the different opinions as to the length of the mandate for other offices, if one is concerned with the length of the mandate of the President of the Federal Assembly, the opinions come together. According to the third amendment, this mandate is set up so that the president is replaced every year, and so that he will always be from a different republic or province. The only open question concerning officials in the Federal Assembly is whether the presidents of the two chambers should be regulated by the constitution or by the operating procedure of the assembly. While the majority think that they represent the constitutional category, they have different opinions over how long their mandate should last. Since the position of the presidents makes it impossible for them to usurp authority, the general feeling is that their mandate can last longer than 1 year.

#### **The Selection of the President and the Members of the Federal Executive Council**

The fourth amendment, which refers to regulating the selection of the president and the members of the Federal Executive Council (FEC), has provoked a great deal of polemics. Discussions concerning this amendment have not yet been complete, nor have discussions concerning the last amendment been concluded, which refers to the length of the mandate of the judges of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia; these will be carried out in the days ahead.

In accordance with the general method of approach of taking up questions regarding the implementation of the principles of collective labor,

decisionmaking and responsibility, which are with every organ in the federation, starting with the specific nature of the function, the manner of selection and composition, and the manner of the work and responsibility of the individual organs, in previous considerations of the FEC we have proceeded from the implementation of the constitutional concept concerning this organ in practice up till now. Two alternatives have been before the members of the commission, but for the time being neither of them has been ultimately decided upon. According to the first alternative, the president of the FEC would be chosen for 2 years and have the possibility of being chosen for another 2 years, and the members of the FEC would be chosen for 4 years. According to the second alternative which has been presented for discussion, the possibility of a 4-year term for the president of the FEC was suggested. Almost identical opinions exist concerning these two possible solutions, but differences appear over the so-called institution of the mandator, which enables the candidate for president of the FEC to participate in the determination of the candidates for membership in the FEC. In the supporting arguments for the position which favors withholding this possibility, and which understands that this must be avoided because it is not in accordance with the delegate system, more important differences have been expressed concerning the appraisal of the place and the position of the FEC as the executive organ of the Federal Assembly. One is left with the impression that the members of the commission will readily come to terms in connection with the length of the mandate, but the opinions which exist concerning the institution of the mandator are quite different. The members have reached agreement that the president of the FEC cannot be chosen for a second time, and the members of the FEC cannot be chosen for a third time.

The commission is continuing its work, and in the meantime will carry out additional political consultation. Otherwise, one anticipates that the drafts of the amendments will soon be delivered to the delegates of the Federal Chamber, after which a public discussion should be expected, which will certainly contribute to the formulation of the kind of constitutional changes which will help carry out Comrade Tito's initiative concerning the advancement of collective labor, decisionmaking and responsibility in the most consistent manner.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### NEW PHYSICIANS REFUSING JOB OFFERS IN OUT-OF-WAY PLACES

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 80 p 10

[Article by Vladimir Gajic and Julija Bogoeva: "Voluntarily Unemployed"]

[Text] More than 2,200 graduated medical students are waiting in queues at employment bureaus, although there are more jobs available than could possibly be filled. However, nobody wants to go into the interior of the country, instead they wait for jobs in one of the centers. Large apartments and high wages offered by smaller towns are all in vain.

Why doctors do not want to go to the "country"? What is it: the magic attractiveness of large cities or the fear of responsibility? Whatever the case may be, the interior needs as many as 4,000 physicians.

In Kalinovik and in villages at the foot of Bjelasnica, Prenje, Treskavica and Zelengora everybody knows Nenad Babic. At every time of day or night, but at the right time for those who need his help, Nenad has for the past 2 years gone where he is needed--by jeep, on horseback, and when no other means are available, on foot.

#### His reward?

When he succeeds, of course. In his line of work that means to heal, to ease the pain, remove suffering, and at times to conquer death itself. It is at such times that some oldster, whose grandson he could be, offers: "Doctor, may I carry your bag."

The story about the young physician in the wilderness was published in the holiday issue of one of the most prestigious of Yugoslav journals. The editors of that newspaper thought that this example was an exception. And unfortunately, that is true. There are few Nenads among young physicians.

Mika Spiljak, while speaking to the Council of the Labor Union Federation recently, mentioned a disturbing fact that while there are 2,200 physicians registered with employment bureaus, the small places in the country need about 4,000.

### The Quick Cajnicans

They had waited a long time for a physician in Cajnic. Although economically weak, the općina had done everything in its power to get a physician. An apartment was offered along with a hefty salary. But the time passed and no sight of a doctor. Not a one of those 120 physicians, unemployed in Sarajevo, a mere 100 km away, even budged. After all, who would work in Cajnic?

With all their efforts in vain, they had a brainstorm: they "kidnapped"--as reported recently in a Sarajevo daily--a young female physician whom they brought there, regardless of the consequence!

It is not known if anyone else took the example of Cajnicans, but this "kidnapping" must be understood. For many small towns like Cajnic it is a real accomplishment when they manage to secure a physician. It is a different story again to say that the Cajnic "prescription" should be recommended to other places under similar circumstances.

It is a fact that the "province" offers a physician much better conditions, such as a considerably higher salary, an apartment, which is not always available in the city, and finally, a job itself. In Slovenia, for example, physicians working in the country have 40 percent higher salaries than their colleagues in Ljubljana, Maribor or Kranje. In some parts of Serbia, the salaries in the country are double those in the city. The situation is more or less similar in other republics and provinces.

Why are then young physicians, actually not really in the flower of their youth, since the study of medicine takes about 8 years, virtually running away from the work in the country? Why are many of them committing themselves to unemployment that may last up to several years? What follows is a reproachful question which imposes itself almost unconsciously, as a reflex: is this what we got after this society had invested so much in their education? However we should not be quick to judge, although the ethics of this question, this problem, deserves a closer examination. If for no other reason than because there are those among physicians who believe that this idea of ethics, inherited from the dawn of the Hellenic civilization, is somehow passe, some sort of an unnecessary ballast in these "modern" times.

What do the experts think of the problems of the insufficient attractiveness of the country?

### Putile Job Contests

"I believe that this problem is so complex," says Dr Svetislav Kostic, the dean of the Belgrade Medical School, "that the solutions can be reached only through in-depth sociological studies, which, unfortunately, we do not have."

Our friend could probably say a few more things, but it seems that it is not all clear to him either, so he is trying to avoid a wrong answer. Instead, he asked us: "Can you tell me why wasn't there a single applicant from among those 530 unemployed physicians in Belgrade, although the position for an assistant professor at the Kragujevac branch of the Belgrade Medical School was advertised three times? I cannot understand that. Can you?" Neither can we.

The director of the Federal Health Institute, Dr Dominik Komadina, probably because he has studied the problem for years, was more willing to offer concrete discussion about the reasons for the unwillingness of physicians to serve in small towns. He believes that there is a defect in the system of education which does not prepare physicians for independent work in the field. Insure of themselves, these newly baked physicians are afraid to face patients alone, and it is much easier in the teamwork environment, when the blame can be shared.

#### Isolated Physicians

It is a fact that medical schools prepare students for work in hospitals, rather than for active participation in health maintenance, i.e. to care for healthy individuals. In other words, physicians are being taught to cure, rather than to prevent disease.

"Many medical students," continues Dr Komadina, "come from so called well-to-do families. Those individuals are not driven to search for their daily bread. Instead, the society pays for their education, while their parents pay for their time spent as unemployed."

However, it would be wrong to underestimate the motive to perfect their skills and advance within their profession. Practicing in a small community posses a threat of isolation, whereby a young physician fails to keep up with changes in medical science. Furthermore, Dr Komadina claims that a physician who fails to keep up for about 5 years, is de facto back to square one, since it is estimated that the body of medical knowledge increases by about 20 percent annually.

"The development of medicine has created a need for specialization, which is a normal step for anyone who has an ambition of becoming a 'doctor' of one's profession," states Dr Nikola Bogunovic from the Republic Health Institute of Serbia. "To be truthful, small places as a rule, can not assure constant professional development, because specialization is tied to clinics, and we know where clinics are located."

Dr Bogunovic believes that in the future, specialization should be tied to field work. This requires the dismantling of the present monopoly held by large cities.

## The Regional Key

The awareness of the lag between the fast development and growth of medical science and medical practice itself induced the Belgrade Medical School to plan the organization of professional seminars for physicians in various branches of medicine. This will certainly gladden the hearts of young physicians whose main obstacle to practicing in the countryside was the fear that they would be professionally buried. Therefore, this so much talked about "permanent education" is finally close at hand for physicians practicing outside large medical centers.

Although this will ensure the much needed contact with new developments in medicine, it is, after all, only the first step.

In order to untie this Gordian health care knot, which apparently can not be undone through material stimuli, some republics, such as Slovenia and Banja Luka and Herzegovina, made work in the field for a year or two a requirement for specialization.

The Slovenians went even further: the structure of medical students must match the social structure of various regions in the republic. Thus the republic is divided into nine regions, which according to their own needs, choose the necessary number of medical students. Using this "regional key" about 150 students enrol in medical schools each year. In this way the flood of applicants has been prevented, also creating conditions for future physicians' return to their native regions.

The Slovenian example illustrates the fact that the long term planning is the most important precondition for adequate distribution of personnel in medical profession. However, nobody is working on that here: not those within various health organizations, nor in federal institutes, nor in the government, nor is the personnel required for this important job being trained. Because of that nobody here can answer the question of how many, what kind of physicians, and where are they needed. The paradox is even greater since it is well known that from the nation's 12 medical schools graduate 1,200 to 1,000 physicians annually. This unproportional distribution of physicians also contributes to a bad distribution of labor within the health care system itself. When everybody does everything, and when there is no consistent application of the division of labor, it is hard to determine the real needs.

We are aware of the fact that it is impossible to expose all sides of such a complex problem in one newspaper article. Because of this it would be interesting to hear the opinions of our readers and of physicians themselves.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### CONTROVERSIAL TELEVISION SERIES, BANNED PLAYS REVIEWED

#### Series Under Fire

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1530, 4 May 80  
pp 30-31

[Article by Mladen Maloca]

[Text] What Will happen after the political reservations expressed by the presidium of Croatian Trade Unions about the series "Under Full Steam?" An answer is offered by the series' authors.

That part of the Yugoslav population that spends its Sunday evenings in front of the television screen was waiting impatiently for the beginning of the second part of the series "Under Full Steam."

Instead of enthusiasm, what came was first of all that warning stillness, then, after the first part that was entitled "The Jubilarians," a storm of critical remarks that fell with the fury of a thunderstorm. And while the comments of the critics could more or less have been expected, a surprise came from a session of the presidium of the Council of the League of Trade Unions of Croatia. Its critical declaration left the expected level of esthetic and artistic perceptions, and placed its emphasis on the social harmfulness of the messages coming from the small screen through an entire gallery of characters in the series "Under Full Steam." It did not even leave out political reservations, although these were expressed more moderately.

As members of the presidium of the Croatian League of Trade Unions put it, how else could one interpret the presentation of the invented anarcholiberlal position at the fictitious Zica organization of associated labor, where the technocratic structures befuddle the workers, where such a position is accepted by the workers as the only possibility, and the trade union gives its approval to the whole?? In the texts published in public organs, we can read the concluding statement of Mirko Mecava, who said: "As a trade union, we have never gotten mixed up with the dramatic part of television programming, but this time we are reacting because, in the program 'Under

full steam,<sup>4</sup> both self-management and the trade union are devalued as an organization of the working class. Life's reality is belittled. Instead of real circumstances and relationships, something has been invented that, as far as I know, does not exist as the dominant status in a single part of monetized labor, and that invention, like a cuckoo's egg, is offered to the viewer."

Such directly stated and clearly formulated remarks of trade union leaders, which conflict with the usual manner that has become customary in Yugoslav television criticism, provoked a considerable reaction, but also caused reflection. This is not the first time that sociopolitical organizations and their leaderships have reacted to interpretations in certain works, whether they be literary, film or television works. In the general atmosphere that has been created around some works and their authors, it has not been infrequent for a fundamental treatment of their ideological or political content and message to be left out. Intervention and the expressing of opinions on political battles in that case would have been representative of a social collective, which the work would experience in all its dimensions. Yet the more skeptical will assert that criticism authenticated with the signature of a leadership group can provoke the opposite of the desired effect. Its unavoidable authoritative judgment can appear to be a rebuke and can prevent the possibility of a broader, more open creative dialog that, without a doubt, is extremely important in order to evaluate the artistic and social reach of a particular program or work.

Certainly neither in the debate nor in the conclusions was there any expression of a lack of confidence in the editorial staff of the drama program of Yugoslav Television or in the people who are responsible for that program.

#### What Do the Authors Say?

Lucijan Klaric was happy to respond to the request for a conversation, but at every moment a bitterness can be seen coming from him.

(Klaric) "For some of my earlier works I was labeled practically a "state writer" by some individuals, it was said that my writing verged on treason. Now, when they have tied the car of your holiness on me, the "well-intentioned" children who warned me not to write about the problems of the workers rejoice and call out: 'Well, what else are you going to write about factories and their Lacis [hero of the series]!'"

In being ironic about the criticism and the critics, Klaric continued in what amounted to a monolog:

(Klaric) "Many were shocked when they saw the third episode, 'The Jobillarians,' chiefly because the program was aired in prime time when all the so-called older viewers are home. I support the notion that during that period we should show crime films, while such trifles as this ('Under Full Steam')

should be left for sometime after midnight when the honest people are sleeping. I would still like to ask the common people how they liked the series!"

It would not be out of place to mention that Kazimir Klaric has spent part of his career working as a director, and he was also employed for a short while in the trade union. That, he says, is the source of a number of characters and situations in the series that are a result of his own, primarily personal, experience. Klaric, however, says that he would like to refute the misunderstandings that have arisen by asserting that his basic intention was to make people think about some of the operators that are wandering about enterprises, after watching some of the episodes in the series.

[Klaric] "It is a misunderstanding, because my heroes are not malicious. That can easily be seen in the coming episodes, when their fortunes change. They are people of flesh and blood, with all the usual virtues and faults."

Klaric does not agree with the comments that have been made that his situations are too "black and white," that his characters are caricatures, and that they are merely superficial and on the margins of real life.

[Klaric] "The entire seven episodes and the whole opus of the series 'Under Full Steam' should be seen, and then the critics should give a final, more comprehensive evaluation. They should wait and see the fate of the hero Laci, the transformation of the director into a man who fights for the factory. Even I am not so stupid as to brand all directors as corrupt. This is not an English drama, these are our people, our situations and therefore it is difficult to find the right measure always."

Klaric continued: "In any case, I believe that in our literature there is an enormous void. For example, we have no dramas about the life of the politician. There is also the diplomatic services, they are made up of people of flesh and blood as well. These themes are seldom if ever treated, so that in a certain sense people are surprised when we write about them. That is the cause of the reactions, and I am convinced that every new penetration into those still untreated areas of life contributes to the humanization of society."

#### Dialog or Discouragement

At the television studio they do not think that they have made "some genial series," a masterpiece. It is as if everyone is to some extent aware that they overrated the series, and the experience with "Under Full Steam" has shown once again the thanklessness of attempting to continue the lives of heroes of successful series that have already been presented. The director of programs of Zagreb Television, Veljko Knezevic, stated it in the following way:

[Knezevic] "Television is like Moloch, it eats its children. It constantly demands new works, new ventures and heroes. Those who have captured the

audience want to stay alive. And in that adventure, there are times when suffering occurs."

[Knezevic continued] "When we saw and approved the second part of the series, we considered that it would portray certain shortcomings, some things in society that were not good. We were by no means thinking of any negation of the social system and its values, of a generalization."

Like Klaric, Veljko Knezevic also believes it is too early to give an evaluation of the series, and it is also too early for the remarks that have been expressed. The so-called "contemporary theme" has been shown to be very delicate, for as Knezevic considers, there are still many sensitivities and hyper-sensitivities present. Yet television, if it wants to keep pace with life, must look closely into, note and be interested in life and the relationship in it. Concerning the reaction of the Trade Unions, Knezevic says it was "well-intentioned, it differentiated matters." Knezevic points out, however, the fact that he was alarmed by general reservations, such as those related to the third episode. Such reservations without some remaining approval, can discourage Klaric and writers like him, who are ready to come to grips with these themes from Yugoslav working collectives. As Knezevic stated, "As a viewer I would never identify Laci with the entire trade union. He is not the trade union, he is a single character who might also be encountered in our collectives, and nothing more than that."

Knezevic especially pointed out the complexity and the responsibility that accompany the birth of a television series. It should not be forgotten that 2 years and more are necessary for such a series. It is difficult to guarantee its success in advance. Because of the complexities of the task, there are always uncertainties about the results. In order to avoid that, at Zagreb Television they decided to establish a so-called series council that would provide that essential social verification.

Through debate and fundamental considerations, misunderstandings will be avoided and doubts will not be created about similar future projects. And then as well, writers will not experience these things as closing the door for treatment of contemporary themes in Yugoslav life.

#### Cancellation of Series

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1534, 25 May 80  
pp 31-32

[Article by Teodor Andjelic]

[Text] "It is truly difficult to write about contemporary themes for at least two reasons. The first is that these everyday matters are unknown to writers. The second is that we all live in the self-management mode and to tell stories about it is a presentation to a truly large, it could be said, audience of specialists. The easiest thing is, however, to sit in a

well-heated little room, while the snow is swirling outside, and to scribble about the coming of the ancient Slavs, and about their isolation in dwellings built on stilts. It is difficult to lament and be violent, to plow into the virgin soil that has the ugly cadastral title of 'our reality.'"

These words were uttered in an almost expected anticipation of the coming sharp criticism of his series "Under Full Steam" by its author, Kazimir Klaric, to this reporter at the very beginning of the telecast of the second installment in the series.

If we were to attempt to condense Klaric's approach to the writing of this continuation of "Under Full Steam" to its essence, we would say that he has always sought, using satirical strings in a satirical mosaic, to regard the Yugoslav here and now, and particularly those people who in any case constantly assert that only two things in life interest them, "productivity and the working class."

The latter are the words of one of the right-hand men of the director of the fictitious Zica enterprise where all the episodes in the series take place. They are said by those directors, by workers and officials in a similar way, satirically and with humor, for 4 weeks during prime time on Sunday television. Then, after the sharp criticism aimed at the series for its "caricature of our reality" by the presidium of the Council of Trade Unions of Croatia, the Program Department of Zagreb Television decided to remove the series from its programming. Actually, that decision was not made immediately after the very "harsh" evaluation of the series. (Among other things, it was said that the series shows an "anarcholiberal atmosphere" at the Zica organization of associated labor, and that the manner of working of the leadership personnel in that collective is "technobureaucratic.")

At first the department considered it desirable to telecast, and did telecast, the ninth installment of the series instead of the regular fourth installment. After that episode, and the new reactions to it, the department decided to halt presentation of the series "Under Full Steam" completely. Other than the two that were skipped over, there remained a final, seventh installment of the series. Its director, Palma Katalinic, stated that, from the point of view of the television station, a period had been placed at the end of the entire matter.

[Katalinic] "The true test of this and other series is its contact with the public. At the moment when the criticism of 'Under Full Steam' appeared, it was not really the time for polemics."

#### A New Happy Ending

Certainly the removal of a series that at least had the ambition to tell of Yugoslav everyday life is not going to encourage writers to continue writing about that everyday life. The filming of all seven installments of "Under Full Steam" cost a billion and a half dinars, which in comparison

to the rest of similar ventures is regarded to be cheap. Yet that is still money. There is no certain successful evaluation of television productions such as this, although Veljko Knezevic, program director for Zagreb Television, says that the collective has decided to form a series council that will provide necessary preliminary social verification.

While contemporary themes are concerned, it appears that "history repeats itself" always in a similar manner: there is great sensitivity and even hypersensitivity in the viewers, in the political forums, and among the creators. We purposely say viewers, because there have been no written literary works of note concerning contemporary events. We also purposely say hypersensitivity, because the reactions to those contemporary subjects as a rule go from one extreme to another. Thus, for example, the film "The Trophy," which tells of the work of a commission for examining the origins of property, last year won the Golden Arena prize at Pula only immediately afterward to receive sharp negative evaluations by film critics right up until the present day. It was shown only one afternoon in Belgrade, and it has just arrived in Zagreb.

The alternation between stormy applause and bitter criticism is the most characteristic precisely for those television attempts to speak of Yugoslav everyday life in artistic language.

A pioneer in this sense was the author of the currently disputed "Under Full Steam," Kazimir Klaric, a former director and trade union worker, and now a journalist. His story "The Bachelor," about the porter Djuri, an unprotected, Czechoslovak "little man," had to be reshowed after its premiere at the request of the viewers, while his "The Declaration," another television drama about the injustices committed against a worker, has been shown several times. And even now it is cited by Milorad Viskic, a member of the presidium of the Council of Trade Unions of Croatia, as a "drama that is particularly inspiring, because it uses the proper methods to struggle for self-management."

All of these stories regularly ended with a self-management happy ending. In telling about injustices, they all uphold justice, in reality speaking about self-management by looking at the lack of self-management. They were all specific television cocktails of drama and reporting, journalism with an artistic polish and art with a journalistic core. Naturally, they all caused "unheard of" excitement.

Nearly all the self-management stories, however, have one clearly discernible minus. It is as if the workers in them need to be made more like workers, and the leaders are practically idealized in their ability to manipulate. We are more sensitive to that type of exaggeration as a rule than to similar, and perhaps worse, deviations.

There is no society that is not sensitive to criticism about the things in which it takes pride, but at the same time, there can be no healthy society without self-criticism. It appears that television creators often shun

self-management because they do not know it, they do not live with it even though they live in it.

#### Halting Work

It is also no exaggeration to state that for a long time already there have been laments that television does not have enough humor and satire, and then when by some miracle they appear, the satire is written by Domanovices and the humor by the judges.

It is also easy to discern that the withdrawal of "Under Full Steam" reactivates some old questions: How should a man look who during prime time of the so-called entertainment program of the small screen reports on society and on the relationships in it? What and how much should he admit about the natural conflicts of here and now? How must truth is there in the ironic remark that this is no place to follow "the spirit of the times," or that some future researcher, seeking facts about us, will falsely conclude that this was a time "without a spirit!"

Palma Katalinic states, naturally, that the trade union has the right to evaluate the things that are in the ether, just as does everyone else. In the words of its member, Milorad Viskic, the presidium of the Council of the League of Sindicates of Croatia in criticizing "Under Full Steam," "is not expressing a lack of confidence in the editorial staff of the drama program of Zagreb Television and the people who make that program."

After all of it there still remains the impression that all the actors in this story, each in his own phase of it, from the production of the series to its criticism and subsequent withdrawal, have acted partially in rash ways. Certainly the series was not polished and the manner in which it was withdrawn will not encourage similar future ventures.

The complications around "Under Full Steam," have not, however, thrown Yugoslav everyday life out of similar projects by Zagreb Television: reporters Jelena Lovric and Mario Bošnjak have written a scenario for a contemporary television drama. Entitled "Strike," it tells of a work stoppage. Production is to start in September, and the director will be Berislav Makarovic.

#### Communication from Zagreb Television:]

The program staff of Zagreb Television has considered the effects up to now of the episodes of the series "Under Full Steam" that have been shown and has determined that the desired program effect has not fully been achieved and that the essential artistic level has not been attained. Consequently, Zagreb Television has ceased telecasting this part of the series.

### Troublesome Plays Listed

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1533, 18 May 80  
p 48

[Article by Radivoj Cveticanin]

[Text] From Sophocles to Dusan Kovacevic (or Jovanovic, whichever you like) the theater, among all the other things it has wanted, has wanted to maintain a constant dialog with the life around it. In other words, in this way or that way it has sought to be concerned with contemporary events, with everyday life. Particularly radical demands for this--its protagonists would like to say, "involved"--role of the theater have appeared in recent decades. As usual, some have been inclined (first and perhaps foremost of all Josip Vidmar) to see this as the whim of the epoch, avantegardism without a future, a movement which takes away from this art at least some of its exalted nature. In any case, both these strivings and these disputes continue in the same ways and at the same times.

For the subject with which we hope to deal, it is necessary to concentrate the entire matter on the following fact: within the framework of this orientation, the theater has known how to be interested in politics in a provocative manner. If we limit ourselves to the most recent times, it would still make a long story: One generation will remember always as the prototype for one form of theatrical involvement Aleksandar Popovic's "The Second Door to the Left" (as presented by the Student Experimental Theater in Zagreb), while in the second instance some will remember the entire complex of events around the play "When The Pumpkins Were Blooming" by Dragoslav Mihailovic (staged by the Yugoslav Drama Theater in Belgrade). Recently and at a similar level of theatrical political involvement, there has been Dusan Jovanovic's "The Karamazovs," which was presented by the National Theater in Belgrade.

A fresh addition to all of this is Tom Stoppard's "Travesties." We learned about this play from a few lines in the program of Atelier's festival "Open Doors" that were published in POLITIKA before the holidays. The program stated that the Zagreb theater ITD (Etc) would present "Travesties" in Belgrade, and that the "witty contemporary British writer deals with the pivotal time when a certain Lenin and a certain Tristan Cara were operating in Zurich." On the other hand, other voices have been heard about the play, thoroughly black ones.

To Jovanovic and Stoppard (in the interpretation of the young director Nenad Puhovacki) could be added other writers whose works have been sent back for "polishing," precisely for reasons that have been mentioned prominently here and which we have become accustomed to call "political." All of this guides the true student of the theater, out of passion for these not-so-rare manifestations of the "incidental," to devote a thorough investigation to them, which would give proper answers to the questions that emerge from the situations mentioned above and others not mentioned.

We will limit ourselves to a more modest problem. One of the directors declared that "The Karamazovs" could see the theater lights in Zagreb or Ljubljana! The question immediately arose in that regard concerning "Travesties" as well, how could they be presented in Zagreb and not be presented in Belgrade? And then came the further assertion: Yes, yes, in Ljubljana everything, but here nothing!

Of course, the entire matter is poisonous, and what is far more important, fundamentally inaccurate. A totally different list and ordering of illustrations could be stuck under the noses of those admirers of this type of comparison of the achievements of democracy in various Yugoslav environments, along with tests of their relative progressiveness, and by the same speculative means we could obtain a completely different notion from those created by the above type of declaration.

Yet one thing is inherently clear, and that is that such speculative assertions lead nowhere, and especially do not lead to the opening of new vistas of freedom. Progress will not come from more democracy in one city than in another. The matter will be "okay" only when there is freedom in every city without exception.

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OPERATIONS OF ZMAJ AIRCRAFT REPAIR WORKS HIGHLIGHTED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jun 80 pp 36-37

[Article by Nikola Vukicevic: "Three and a Half Decades of Maturing"]

[Text] Right after the war, 15 May 1945, the Zmaj Aircraft Repair Works was established along with a number of similar concerns. This hard-working collective, in the three and a half decades of its existence, has been constantly on the ascent. This repair works has been repairing supersonic aircraft for a full 13 years. This has actually been the Zmaj folks' greatest triumph on the job: by making the switch to repairing expensive aircraft, they created their own technology and reduced dependence on imports. Equipment has been tested successfully, worn-out parts and components replaced, and individual parts even manufactured in this works. The folks at Zmaj have made use of their own experience and the experience of other plants and numerous subcontractors in developing their own technology. Cooperation is also close with working organizations throughout the country. The development of specialized personnel, whose abilities are equal to those of experts in the most developed countries of the world, has kept pace with the development of technology.

The in-house LCY organization has played an important role in the development of the Zmaj Aircraft Repair Works. Every third person employed in this working organization is an LCY member, while every fifth is a member of some management entity.

The Zmaj Aircraft Repair Works has been at the very top in the air force and air defense forces and was named best in its class a few years ago in the "Let's Choose the Best Unit" contest.

Substantial attention is devoted to technical innovations, efficiency work, and inventions in this working collective, which is headed by the experienced Srecko Zupanc. Technician Ivan Zibert invented a device for testing protective caps, highly-skilled worker Stjepan Trumbetas improved a metal processing tool, Franjo Grilec improved the prompt and effective repair of radar cones, and Engr Vlatko Lackovic improved a device for optical measurements. The Regulation on Efficiency Work, adopted 3 years ago, has undoubtedly made a contribution to this system of operations.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 36, upper left. Zmaj Aircraft Repair Works has been visited by highest-ranking governmental and military officials. In photo: Col Gen Enver Cemalovic with associates.
2. p 36, upper right. Experience and enthusiasm of every individual have affected results on job. In this anniversary year, plan was exceeded by 14 percent.
3. p 36, center right. Electric devices are being tested at control board.
4. p 37, upper left. Assembly of components and parts on aircraft in concluding stage.
5. p 37, center left. Aircraft after arrival at works.
6. pp 36-37. Assembly of jet engine.

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